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Karpov Says Spring 1989 Full of 'Great Hopes'
LD0303130689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 3 Mar 89

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Mar (TASS)—Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov called the spring of '89 "a spring of great hopes in the sphere of disarmament."

He spoke here today at a news conference, which was dedicated to the talks between the Warsaw Pact member states and NATO on conventional armed forces in Europe, which is due to start on 6 March in Vienna. "The issue is not simply the continuation of the Helsinki process, but also a qualitatively new stage, which will make it possible to reach concrete achievements in the sphere of disarmament."

The deputy minister stressed that the Soviet Union proposes to eliminate the imbalances and asymmetries, starting with those types of weapons which are most dangerous: offensive weapons. "And not just to simply start, but parallel with the reduction of troops and armaments to adopt measures on the reformation of the structure of the Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces in such a way as to impart an unconditionally defensive nature to the troops and armaments," said Viktor Karpov.

The confidence-building measures which were discussed in Stockholm can be developed and supplemented by restricting the scale of excercises and maneuvers and by widening the range of information which can be exchanged by the sides extending them not only to ground forces, but also to the activity of air and naval forces. "Such a program could open up a path toward serious shifts in the sphere of strengthening European security," noted the Soviet diplomat.

The NATO countries are trying to avoid discussing the question of reducing the numbers of troops and refer to the difficulties of monitoring this process. "If it is only armaments which are to be eliminated, then, for example, having destroyed a certain number of tanks and having kept the personnel, we are preserving the opportunity to pour new tanks into this structure and, perhaps also other modernized combat equipment, continued Viktor Karpov. We proceed from the premise that the transfer to the defensive structure of troops requires a simultaneous process of reducing both troops and armaments."

Answering the question concerning the position of the Soviet Union on tactical nuclear weapons, the deputy minister stated: "The USSR has always considered that, along with the reduction of conventional armaments, one should also discuss the reduction and, in the final analysis, elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. The Soviet Union is ready for such talks at any time."

Viktor Karpov noted that in the talks proposed by the Soviet side on tactical nuclear weapons, both Great Britain and France, as countries which have these weapons at their disposal, should take part. "At the same time we do not mean that Great Britain and France should place their strategic weapons at the conference table. In accordance with the program put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev on 15 January 1986 they are due to be discussed at the final stage of nuclear disarmament."

Lushev Seeks 'Unilateral' NATO Arms Cuts
PM0303111989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian3 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Army General P. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces: "In the Interests of Lasting Peace"]

[Text] The period since the 27th CPSU Congress has convincingly confirmed the correctness of the course the party has chosen. Glasnost, democratization, and radical political and economic reforms are increasingly becoming irreversible and actually promoting the effective resolution of the tasks of restructuring and the renewal of socialism in the USSR.

The process of restructuring the foreign political activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state is being implemented in indissoluble connection with internal transformations. Here too the ideas and principles proclaimed by the 27th party congress act as reliable landmarks. They form the core of the concept of new political thinking worked out by the CPSU—a concept of political realism reflecting the increasingly interrelated nature of the world and the realities of the nuclear and space age and rapid scientific and technical progress. It proceeds on the basis of the priority of common human values, and answers the most acute problems of the day—above all, war, peace, and mankind's survival.

New political thinking is based on the obvious and abiding fact of the time—namely that no war, nuclear or conventional, can any longer be a means of achieving political, economic, ideological, or other ends. If such a war did nonetheless break out, there would be no winners. This conclusion stems from the presence of military-strategic parity between East and West recognized by both sides, and from the nature of modern means of waging armed warfare.

Undoubtedly, however, the current level of the military equilibrium of the sides is too high. Any further increase in it can only lead to an intensification rather than prevention of the danger of an outbreak of war. The fact that under modern conditions the security of states can only be fully ensured by political means on the basis of

equality, reciprocity, openness and glasnost in the military sphere, and the application by both sides of the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense and a minimum threshold of military confrontation is becoming increasingly obvious.

For a Europe that is overloaded with weapons this is of particularly great importance. Europe could not be the center of a nuclear war without running the risk of perishing in it. Europe is to all intents and purposes divided into the two powerful military-political alliances in the modern world—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. And this predetermines the exceptionally high responsibility of the states in those alliances to ensure the peaceful future of the continent and the entire planet.

New political thinking has made it possible to implement conceptual breakthroughs in areas which had seemed to be forever frozen, immovable, and inviolable. Gradually, step by step, overcoming the many obstacles of the past, new approaches, solutions, and concepts are making headway in relations between states. The Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which marked the start of mankind's transition from nuclear armament to nuclear disarmament, has become a reality in our time. It is not ruled out that agreement will be reached this year on banning and scrapping chemical weapons.

The results of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE states have undoubtedly been a major success for new political thinking. The fact that within the framework of this meeting the 28 Warsaw Pact and NATO states have worked out a mandate for the talks starting 6 March on conventional arms and armed forces in Europe is particularly important.

Needless to say, this became possible thanks to mutual efforts by all European states, the United States, and Canada. Nonetheless, when talking about greater constructive approaches and realism in the policy and actions of Western countries we cannot fail to mention the fact that these were largely predetermined by the initiatives and pracical steps taken by the socialist community states; particularly those steps that were taken unilaterally.

I am talking above all about the USSR's decision to reduce its armed forces and arms. In the course of 2 years these will be cut by 500,000 men (240,000 from European units), 10,000 tanks, and a considerable number of artillery systems and warplanes. The upcoming withdrawal from the fraternal countries of six Soviet tank divisions and their disbandment (including their tactical nuclear weapons), as well as assault and other units and formations, is of fundamental importance. At the same time, the military budget will be reduced by 14.2 percent, and the production of arms and military hardware will be cut by 19.5 percent. The USSR has also decided to start scrapping stockpiles of chemical weapons even before the conclusion of an international convention.

The similar unilateral measures by other Warsaw Pact states have met with a great reaction internationally. Proving in action their goodwill and readiness to cut armed forces and arms, to turn Europe into a region of peace and good-neighborliness, and to reduce the level of military confrontation on the continent, they have also announced considerable reductions in their own armies. Thus, the Polish Army will be reduced by 40,000 men and considerable quantities of military and other equipment withdrawn from service. Hungary intends to reduce military spending by 17 percent and the size of its army by 8.8 percent. During 1989-1990 the GDR National People's Army, the Czechoslovak People's Army, and the Bulgarian People's Army will be cut by 10,000, 12,000, and 10,000 men respectively. Defense spending will fall by 10 percent in the GDR, by 15 percent in Czechoslovakia, and by 12 percent in Bulgaria. Romania implemented a 5-percent cut in its armed forces, arms, and military spending in 1986.

These steps by the fraternal countries are a purposeful act. One cannot fail to see that they are a constructive contribution to the disarmament process, to ensuring military detente, and to creating an atmosphere of confidence on the continent. At the same time, they are of exceptionally great importance for shaping a new model of ensuring security—not by building up arms, but by reducing them on a reciprocal basis to levels of reasonable sufficiency for defense. Finally, there is a clear economic advantage.

The importance of the unilateral measures taken by the allied socialist countries is also linked with the specific content given to the military-technical side of their military doctrine. Adopted in 1987, this doctrine is profoundly defensive in nature. But the structure of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, which took shape before that date, did not wholly accord with the doctrine's requirements. Now the implementation of the foreign policy course of the fraternal parties and countries of democratizing international relations and removing the threat of any war is being graphically confirmed by the unilateral armed forces cuts by the Warsaw Pact states. For all intents and purposes, this means that the allied armies have entered a new stage of development linked with the implementation of new political thinking in the sphere of military building. By 1991 the groupings of Soviet troops in East Europe and the armed forces of other Warsaw Pact states will be unambiguously defensive in nature.

The incipient process in the fraternal countries of switching military building to quality parameters is also aimed at attaining this goal. However, this has nothing to do with the planned "modernization" of the NATO armed forces. Whereas this is aimed at "compensation" (for the withdrawal of U.S. intermediate-range missiles from West Europe) and even at enhancing the bloc's offensive strike potential, the switch to quality parameters assumes something quite different. It boils down to keeping armed forces at a level enabling them to repel

any outside attack against Warsaw Pact states while reducing defense spending. And this level should give no country any reason, even imagined, to fear for its own security.

However, this fact is being deliberately ignored by the NATO military-political leadership. Moreover, it cites various "arguments" in favor of modernization, and not just of tactical nuclear weapons but of conventional weapons too. The West continues to advocate SDI's contribution to the "overall deterrent potential." It should be particularly stressed that the Pentagon has not abandoned a single military-technical program.

It is also claimed in the West that the new initiatives of the socialist states are just a propaganda move which allegedly changes nothing in the correlation of armed forces and armaments between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

On the threshold of the Vienna talks on conventional arms and armed forces this position is by no means accidental. It is as if there is some predetermined hard line with regard to the Warsaw Pact states, according to which they should unilaterally disarm. And at the same time, foreseeing the opposition to this line, official NATO circles are preparing to appear before the world public as "peace-makers" who allegedly have no option other than to arm in the face of the "military threat" posed by the East. Clearly, this is why the NATO countries have not responded positively to the Warsaw Pact states March 1988 proposal to officially exchange data on armed forces and conventional arms. Moreover, NATO has unilaterally published slanted figures based on a selective approach.

Needless to say, this approach does nothing but distort the true state of affairs. Yet the provision of the real figures for armed forces and conventional arms belonging to the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries from the Atlantic to the Urals is of paramount importance.

On this basis, the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee adopted the statement "On the Correlation of Armed Forces and Arms Between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe and Adjoining Waters." This provides a detailed overview of the correlation of military potentials between the two military-political alliances on the European Continent. And it takes account of the fact that armed forces are integrated organisms. Their components—ground forces, air forces, air defense forces, and naval forces—collaborate, complement each other, and strengthen each other. And only a comprehensive analysis can permit the real correlation of forces to be evaluated.

The Warsaw Pact and NATO have approximately equal numbers of men in their ground and air forces. But NATO has almost twice as many naval personnel and a large advantage in strike aviation, combat helicopters, and antitank missile complexes. At the same time, the Warsaw Pact has more tanks, artillery, tactical missile delivery vehicles, air defense combat fighter-interceptors, combat infantry vehicles, and armored personnel carriers.

In publishing these figures, the Defense Ministers Committee stated that they are not intended to be used in full as initial parameters at future talks and are not meant to replace the subject at those talks. However, this comprehensive approach to the evaluation of armed forces in Europe is designed ultimately to focus attention on the need to make the talks realistic from the outset and reject attempts to achieve unilateral advantages.

Reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe and turning it into a continent of peace, trust, and good-neighborly relations is a goal that has always been and continues to be at the center of the foreign policy activity of the Warsaw Pact states. A great deal has been done to bring that goal closer. But a great deal still remains to be done. The fraternal socialist countries are ready for this. We would like to hope the NATO countries will show similar readiness, not least by taking unilateral measures to reduce their armed forces and armaments.

NATO 'War Games' on Eve of Talks Deplored

PM0203103189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian1 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Colonel P. Yakovlev commentary "Militarist Rehearsals. Wintex-Simex-89"]

[Text] The leadership of the North Atlantic bloc is holding allied armed forces strategic command staff exercises under the code name "Wintex-Simex-89" from 24 February through 9 March. The exercises are unparalleled in their scope, the number of NATO countries' military and civilian organizations taking part in them, and the diversity and complexity of the tasks to be rehearsed. The geographical framework of the latest NATO war games extends from the U.S. coast to the borders of the socialist community countries.

NATO prefers not to go into details on the subject of the operational-strategic purpose of the "Wintex-Simex-89" exercises. That is understandable. The scenario of the exercises is not exactly in line with the general mood which characterizes the situation in Europe on the eve of the opening of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and also on confidence-building measures and security on the European Continent. Incidentally, proceeding from an analysis of the experience of previous years, it is not difficult to define the most characteristic features of these major war games.

First of all, their political aspect: The maneuvers are overtly antisocialist in hue. The Warsaw Pact countries, launching a surprise attack on a NATO grouping and invading West European countries, feature as the "aggressor." This opening fully justifies, as it were, the subsequent actions of the NATO military-political leadership, including a decision on the first use of nuclear weapons.

From a purely military angle, the exercises can be viewed as a whole series of operational-strategic measures in which not just the military but also civilians are taking part (for instance, people who deal with questions of material and technical supply). The measures also include the elaboration of questions pertaining to the deployment of troops, the launching of operations in European theaters of war and the Atlantic, the investigation of problems of launching attacks on Warsaw Pact troops including their follow-on forces, as well as the decisionmaking procedure for launching a first nuclear strike. In general, this includes everything which in the views of the NATO command and experts comprises the term "limited nuclear war" in Europe.

And so "Wintex-Simex-89" is in full swing. The exercises are to reach their peak just as work of a different order opens in Vienna at the negotiating table. It seems appropriate to ask: Is this coincidence fortuitous?

U.S. Arms Inspection Official Briefs Congress

LD0303100289 Moscow TASS in English 0925 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 3 TASS—In line with the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty (INF) 31.9 percent of American and 36.2 percent of Soviet medium range missiles have now been destroyed, Brigadier Roland Lajoie, director of the on-site inspection agency, told the U.S. Congress on Thursday. This was his first speech to members of the Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security and Science of the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee.

General Lajoie, the head of the first group of American inspectors who arrived in the USSR in July 1st 1988 told the legislators about the work of his department, about the process of liquidation of Soviet and American medium range missiles in accordance with the INF Treaty. "There were no serious incidents during the primary inspection envisaged by the treaty", said the general. "I am still slightly surprised about this but also very proud. The majority of the problems we came across were small and we managed to settle them at once—this proves the goodwill of both sides." According to the general, now 70 American inspectors continue work in the Soviet Union and 49 Soviet inspectors in the United States.

"We've been working hard to complete all the treaty's inspection regulations. The experience we have accumulated will help the American Government work out other methods of inspection for future more complicated agreements", said the general.

Pact Disarmament Commission Ends Bucharest Meeting
LD0203115889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 02 Mar 89

[Text] A session of the special commission of the Warsaw Pact member states on disarmament matters has ended in Bucharest. Deputy foreign ministers discussed matters relating to the preparation of the talks which are opening in Vienna on curtailing conventional armed forces, and on measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe.

There was also discussion of tactical nuclear means in Europe. A TASS correspondent noted the businesslike and comradely atmosphere of the session.

CEMA Economic 'Roundtable' Session Held in Moscow
LD0103203789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 1 Mar (TASS)—Questions of the restructuring of the mechanism of socialist economic integration, enhancing the role of trade and currency relations in the new conditions of cooperation, and the formation of a unified socialist market were discussed here today at a "roundtable" meeting of economic scientists of the CEMA member countries.

During the course of the discussion, it was noted that the transition to broad production cooperation, the broadening of direct ties, the creation of unified collektivs of scientists and specialists, as well as of joint enterprises, are the CEMA's main tasks today. It was emphasized that interindustrial division of labor has already ceased to affect the deepening of socialist economic integration. Producing one-quarter of the world's national income, the CEMA countries occupy a fairly modest position in world commerce. In order to bring their production and foreign trade indices into line, the CEMA countries would have to increase their trade turnover two and one-half to three times. But this would require the restructuring of the whole system of cooperation and the working out and mastering of the latest types of equipment and technology.

It is a matter of radical structural transformations both in production and in the system of mutual division of labor. The most immense reserves are concealed at the level of indirect manufacturers of goods and services and the developers of new equipment. The organic coordination of the national economic interests of the CEMA countries with the financial-autonomy interests of the labor collektivs is the main requirement of the economic mechanism of socialist integration.

The participants in the meeting outlined the priority problems. These are: increasing the economic grounds for the coordination of plans, participation in coordinating branch teams, the creation of special mechanisms and conditions, a normative base, data banks promoting the development of direct communications, the effective use of trade and currency instruments, and the creation of favorable conditions for forming a unified market.

CEMA Experts Debate 'New Model of Socialism'
PM0103153389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[A. Krushinskiy report: "CEMA: Ways Of Renewal"]

[Text] A scientific-practical conference held in Moscow to mark the 40th anniversary of CEMA took place in a marked businesslike fashion amid lively creative debate. It was organized by the CEMA Secretariat, the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System, and the "World Socialist System" commission studying problems of multilateral cooperation set up by the academies of sciences of the socialist countries.

Right from its formation, acting on principles of equality and mutual respect, CEMA played a most important role in restoring its members' war-ravaged economies. The effect of uniting efforts and comradely mutual assistance was marked on their subsequent dynamic development, CEMA Secretary V. Sychev pointed out in his opening address. However, life does not mark time. Now, in accordance with the need to sharply speed up socioeconomic development, the fraternal countries have embarked on the difficult and lengthy process of restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation. It is natural for this to be organically linked with the restructuring and renewal that are now under way in many fraternal countries. "A new model of socialism is rising up before our eyes," Academician O. Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System, said, dwelling at length on the similarities and differences in the economic management systems of various socialist countries. The processes of renewal may be deemed international, he noted; the basic avenues for the transformations coincide and the problems and difficulties that crop up here are also similar.

"However, the differences are sometimes extremely serious," Bulgarian scientist M. Savov said in his speech. "As well as considering national features in the interests of ensuring better cooperation, we must steadfastly endeavor to close the gap between economic mechanisms." He expressed the misgiving that implementing reform without the requisite coordination will complicate the restructuring of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation (in particular, it will have an unfavorable effect on the development of direct ties) and called for greater coordination in the actions of CEMA countries when establishing ties with the capitalist market.

The speeches by J. Kozma (Hungary), Rodriguez Garcia (Cuba), W. Kurz (GDR), M. Ostrowski (Poland), P. Luvsandorzh (Mongolia), and other speakers analyzed the complex problems of improving the currency and

financial mechanism, the prospects for forming a common market for CEMA countries, the practical tasks of developing direct ties, the reasons for the worsening inflationary tendencies, and conditions for evening out the economic potentials of socialist states. The opinions of those involved in the debate did not coincide on everything, which is natural: The restructuring of the mechanism of socialist economic integration is a complex matter and the road ahead is untrod. Collective analysis of the past and in-depth scientific forecasting of the future are especially important. The scientists of fraternal countries can and should increase their contribution to the cause of improving the integration mechanism—the conference participants were unanimous on this.

Hungary, Yugoslavia Hold Meeting on Reforms
PM0103143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting Between SFRY and Hungarian Leaders"]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb—Pressing problems in Yugoslav and Hungarian contemporary socialist development were at the center of a working meeting between Stipe Suvar, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP. It took place near the Yugoslav-Hungarian border in the vicinity of the Yugoslav city of Beli Manastir.

The quest for ways to further develop socialism in the SFRY and Hungary has a great deal in common despite certain differences of approach. It was pointed out in the course of the conversation that both countries and parties are seeking a solution to the tasks they face of reforming the economic and political systems, effecting transformations within the party, elaborating a new constitution, and developing forms of political pluralism. A process of profound social transformations is under way at present in many socialist countries, hence the frank exchange of opinions on achievements and problems in implementing the reforms is of great importance.

Socialism, S. Suvar stated, is a young social system. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and other socialist countries have embarked on the path of profound reforms in the economic and political spheres and thus—in the sphere of consciousness, outlook, democracy, and transformations within the party. Problems of the individual, his role and place in the collective, freedom, rights, creative life, and labor activity are now the center of attention.

Speaking of the significance of the transformations in socialist countries, including Hungary, K. Grosz pointed out that in order to develop socialism, one step or even, where necessary, two steps back must be taken in order to see clearly where mistakes were made. Our political convictions and aims should not impede our study of everything progressive in the world and its introduction into our life. The MSZMP general secretary stated that the new Hungarian constitution, which it is planned to adopt by the end of the year, envisages socialist development for the country.

Touching on the question of political pluralism, S. Suvar pointed out that Hungary is about to introduce a multiparty system whereas Yugoslavia is developing self-managing political pluralism. We do not want a multiparty system, he said, but we are providing an opportunity for political activity within the framework of society's socialist forces.

Gerasimov Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing

Pakistani Allegations Denied

LD0303111389 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT 03 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, described as preposterous assertions Pakistani press allegations that Moscow did not withdraw troops from Wakhan panhandle and even annexed the area.

Speaking at a briefing here today he also refuted reports that the Soviet Union reached agreement with President Najibullah and Aga Khan, coordinator of programmes for emergency relief to Afghanistan, on populating Wakhan panhandle with the sect of Ismaelites with a view to creating the world's only pro-Soviet Ismaelite statehood.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry's spokesman recalled that on February 15 the last Soviet soldier from among the limited contingent had left Afghan territory and "consequently the Wakhan panhandle as well."

Such allegations apparently pursue the aim of diverting the world public attention from Pakistan's violations of its obligations under the Geneva agreements, Gerasimov said. One also gathers the impression that some people in Pakistan and beyond it would like to compromise the U.N. lofty efforts to give humanitarian aid to the Afghan people and to frustrate the Afghan emergency relief progamme directed by Aga Khan, a prominent public figure.

Bush Autobiography Presented

LD0203173389 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—A briefing at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry on Thursday was started with the presentation of the Russian translation of an autobiographical book by George Bush, President of the United States, entitled "Looking Forward". Soviet people wish to have a notion of foreign leaders' political vision said Alexandr Avelichev, director of the Progress Publishers. He said the publishers had brought out the book out of the striving to fulfill this real need.

Analysing current international events, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said that the United States decision to cut by half the number of minesweepers deployed in the Persian Gulf is appraised in the USSR as a step in the right direction. "We hope that this step will be followed by others", he said.

The Sandinista Nicaraguan leaders' pledge to achieve genuine national accord and democratisation meets with understanding and sympathy in the USSR, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said. These steps strengthen the efforts of Nicaragua with other Central American countries toward a fair settlement in the region.

Gerasimov said that the Salvadoran Government's answer to the proposal of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front to put off the general elections can be viewed as the confirmation of the fact that the authorities can no longer disregard the fronts ever growing role and come to realise the need for reaching compromise solutions. "One would like to hope that the situation will be developing in precisely this direction".

Asked by a journalist to comment on the assertion of Academician Andrey Sakharov that Soviet helicopters fired at Soviet troops encircles [as received] in Afghanistan, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said: "You have cited the statement of Academician Andrey Sakharov. But we are also aware of statements of Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev and General Boris Gromov that this could not have happened. I think the academician has been misinformed".

As regards a working visit of Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, beginning on Thursday, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that much importance is attached to this visit in the USSR and that the confidence is expressed that a good tradition of regular summit contacts will be worthily continued.

Nicaraguan Efforts Praised

LD0203144389 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—The Soviet Union has understanding and sympathy for the Sandinista Nicaraguan leader's pledge to achieve genuine national accord and democratisation, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here on Thursday. He said these steps effectively strengthen the efforts of Nicaragua and other Central American countries toward a fair settlement in the region.

The decisions of a meeting of the presidents of five Central American countries met with the support and approval of most countries and led to a marked intensification of the process of peaceful settlement in the region, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. This is confirmed by events in El Salvador and cause certain optimism. Gerasimov said that the February proposal of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front to put off the general elections fixed for March 19 and the readiness expressed to stop the armed struggle and respect the election returns were met with interest and understanding. The government's answer to the front's proposal can be viewed as confirmation of the fact that the authorities cannot disregard the front's ever growing

role and come to realise the need for compromise solutions. "The logic of the events shows that the Salvadoran problem can be resolved only by negotiations, mutual concessions and fair consideration for the interests of all the parties involved in the conflict. One would like to hope that the situation will develop in this direction", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said in conclusion.

Formal Talks on Relations With EC Sought

AU0103111289 Rome ANSA in English 1041 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] (ANSA) Moscow, March 1—The Soviet Union hopes that formal talks on the opening of formal relations with the European Community can start "as soon as possible, next autumn", according to a high-ranking Soviet Foreign Ministry offiial.

Addressing a press conference Tuesday, Yuriy Buzykin, deputy head of the ministry's Department for International Economic Relations, told reporters that the Soviet Union wants formal relations to "extend the possibilities for cooperation in Europe".

Commenting positively on recent talks in Brussels between Soviet and EC delegations, he said the Soviet Union wanted the economic cooperation accord discussed on that occasion to be as ample as possible, "so as to cover trade and cooperation in science, technology, and other areas".

He added that the EC Commission had created an "atmosphere very favourable to discuss the substance of these problems".

EEC Accused of 'Shortage of Political Will'

LD0203125989 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—By political news analyst Albert Balebanov: Senior executives of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) Secretariat on Wednesday met a delegation of the European Parliament comprising 22 deputies from virtually all of its political groups, in Moscow. This is the first time a group-based delegation of the EEC's parliamentary assembly has visited the CMEA.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of sincere interest in fostering interaction between the CMEA and the EEC. "We favour an honest and businesslike talk on cooperation based on mutual benefit", Vyacheslav Sychev, CMEA secretary said. The statement by Italian Vincenzo Bittiza, head of the delegation: "You may be confident that the European Parliament is open to cooperation" illustrates the sentiments in the EEC's parliamentary assembly.

The establishment of official relations between the CMEA and the EEC was met with satisfaction in Eastern and Western Europe, generating hopes for a speedy development of ties between the two major organisations on our continent. However, just as further contacts began to be formed at the level of experts, some obstacles began to be raised.

It seems that some former members of the European Commission put great emphasis on the establishment of official relations with each of the CMEA member-countries separately rather than on forming direct EEC-CMEA links. Meanwhile, the two organisations agreed that these processes should go hand-in-hand with direct cooperation.

As for the CMEA, there has been no and there is no lack of goodwill and initiative on its part. Socialist countries proposed, as a first step, starting cooperation in the following seven areas: ecology, power engineering, transport, science and technology, standardisation, statistics, joint economic and scientific-technical forecasting. Regrettably, the European Commission has not yet responded to these proposals. Some members of the commission, instead of opening businesslike talks, seem to favour prolonged talks with the CMEA at the level of lawyers who are experts on questions linked with the two organisations' competence.

There is no doubt that there are certain differences between the CMEA and the EEC in structure and competence. However, in the aforegoing seven areas the CMEA Secretariat is vested with all necessary powers to conduct with the EEC substantive talks on extensive cooperation. It seems, therefore, that a shortage of political will has emerged at some level in the EEC. The European Parliament delegation also seemed to understand this in Moscow.

Balkan Move Toward Cooperation Welcomed

PM0103142589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by B. Panov: "Injection of Optimism: The Balkan Meeting 1 Year On"]

[Text] The last days of February 1988 saw the completion in Belgrade of the work of the conference of foreign ministers of the six Balkan states—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia. If a decade ago the percipient muse of history, Clio, one of the nine muses on Mount Olympus and a "native," incidentally, of the Balkans, had been asked to give, in contemporary parlance, a snap forecast of the potential development of events in the region, she would hardly have been up to the task. And that is understandable, when you consider that the Balkans has for many decades been a region of heightened confrontation in Europe. This area, where the two military-political alliances—the Warsaw Pact and NATO—come into contact with each other, serves as a distillation of the complexities of the modern world.

To gain a better idea of the significance of the processes now taking place in the Balkans, let us turn the pages of the calendar back several decades. Let us remember the damage done to the region by the cold war, which exacerbated the already difficult relations existing among individual Balkan states. The densely entangled events of the past, fomented by ethnic strife, have left their negative imprint on the political mien of the Balkans. Without today going into the details of the past, let us merely note that the escalation of mutual recriminations, heightened by mutual estrangement and suspicion, as a consequence of the policy of "divide and rule," artificially implanted there limited dialogue, restricted contacts, and created in the region the permanent danger that the combustible material stockpiled there would ignite.

The victory of socialism in Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia added a new quality to the situation in the Balkans and became an important factor in foreign policy stability in the region. But, as experience has shown, it is far from easy to build an approach to pan-Balkan affairs that is based on a balance of each country's interests equally acceptable to all the countries.

The Belgrade conference took the first step in that direction. The very fact of its being convened was indicative of the common commitment of all sides to try to extinguish the volcano of political passions in the region, without glancing back into the mirror of the past to see the merely negative. The involvement of Albania in this quest, which became possible thanks to the evolution of its foreign policy toward greater openness and abandonment of self-isolation in recent years, makes possible the access of new currents of a truly pan-Balkan kind to the peninsula.

The Belgrade conference did, of course, have its own background. Both the useful experience of modern international relations and the positive payload of bilateral collaboration built up in the last 2-3 years among the Balkan states themselves were successfully accumulated in the preparation for it. To wit: the Greek Government's decision to abrogate the state of war with Albania, that had lasted for almost 5 decades; the accord between Tirana and Sofia to enhance diplomatic relations between the two countries and the creation of a mechanism for consultations between them; and the signing of the Bulgarian-Turkish protocol on the development of relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation.

What, then, does the political timepiece of the Balkans show 1 year after the Balkan conference? First, growing commitment on the part of all the states of the region to cooperation aimed at building confidence and good-neighborliness and the disposition of the region's states to show flexibility in achieving mutually acceptable solutions. The accords reached in Belgrade have served as a good launchpad for strengthening collaboration. They have made it possible to expand and systematize the sphere of multilateral contacts. The two subsequent meetings of the six Balkan states' deputy foreign ministers in Sofia and Tirana have strengthened the negotiating process.

This is doubtless just a beginning. The same distance has not been covered in all areas of regional cooperation, of course. In some, cooperation has gone farther, while in others, including the political sphere, the search for ways to collaborate is still going on, although there is potential for progress here too. This is now opening up in connection with the upcoming discussion of Albania's proposal that a political declaration on friendship, equality, and cooperation in the Balkans be signed, the holding of a meeting of experts on confidence- and security-building measures in the region, and the continuing exchange of opinions on the ideas of Bulgaria and Romania for setting up a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans. The substance of cooperation in the political sphere is, of course, more complex—future collaboration is seen as a labor-intensive and multifaceted process with great diversity of opinion.

Pan-Balkan collaboration is taking its first steps, and the new trends in the Balkans have not yet achieved a firm footing. How realistic are the prospects for creating a situation of stable peace there, effectively overcoming the accretions of the past, building confidence and security, and developing consensus and collaboration among the states of the region? These questions, discussed for decades, are also relevant today. Nevertheless, the Belgrade conference plowed a deep furrow in the field of cooperation, sowing new seeds of good-neighborliness which are already sending up fine shoots.

Western Cooperation on War Criminals Applauded

PM0203100789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by A. Lyutyy: "The Circle Is Closing In; International Cooperation in Prosecuting Nazi Criminals"]

[Text] Over 40 years have already elapsed since the explosions died away and the bullets of World War II ceased their terrifying song. But the wounds—physical, psychological and moral—left by the war did not heal. The memory, the pain remain....

Unfortunately, many war criminals remain unpunished to this day. For many years the USSR has sought to ensure that its former allies in the anti-Hitler coalition observe the commitments they assumed to bring to book those guilty of crimes, but often without results.

It seems the ice has now broken. At least that is what they believe in the five-story building on Pushkin Street where the USSR Prosecutor's Office is situated. In recent months delegations of lawyers from the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, and the FRG have come

here. A breakthrough has appeared in the West's attitude toward cooperation with us on the question of seeking out former Hitlerite butchers.

The most recent evidence of this was the multilateral international meeting held in Washington recently. Taking part were representatives of the justice ministries of the United States, Canada, and Australia, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and the British commission for investigating war crimes. A joint statement was adopted in which the sides undertook to "assist each other in seeking out and prosecuting and punishing Nazi war criminals and their accomplices." Those taking part expressed themselves in favor of "the further galvanization of activity in this direction" and voiced "the readiness to hold meetings regularly both multilaterally and bilaterally."

These wordings may seem rather dry and unexpressive, but a lot stands behind them.

"To be frank," I was told by V.I. Andreyev, a member of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium and leader of the Soviet delegation, "I did not expect such specific positive results, such mutual understanding. I thought that differences in our legislations would be a big obstacle. But all the participants were united by a lofty, profoundly humane aim—how to restore justice, how to safeguard the world from a terrible new upheaval. Against the background of this idea many differences and nuances of a professional nature were put to one side. The Canadian representative even said that the people gathered in Washington are a single team jointly tracking down war criminals."

"And how do you explain the change which has emerged in the West's attitude toward this problem?"

"Undoubtedly by the fact that our new policy has literally rocked Western public opinion. Seeing the specific, consistent steps which the USSR is taking to ensure that the Hitlerite butchers do not avoid responsibility, the Western public has begun to demand the same of its own governments. I must say that in the past we were not trusted enough, for which we ourselves were also to blame. But now, in the new atmosphere of strengthening trust, our partners are turning from words to deeds. You know, this is a great gain for the new political thinking."

"How has the West specifically demonstrated that it is beginning to take a serious stand in the prosecution of Nazi criminals?"

"Well, a number of actions have been taken. After our repeated demands the Americans have in recent years deported Fedorenko and Linnas and handed over Demyanyuk. Work is under way with regard to a whole series of other people with a criminal Nazi past. A special investigation section engaged in precisely this problem is working actively in the U.S. Department of Justice. It is headed by the experienced lawyer Nil Sherr. We were acquainted with the section's work, it has 36 employees. Matters are conducted scrupulously. Perhaps, in our view, they sometimes take an excessive amount of time.

"During our visit to the United States our delegation was acquainted with the archives of the UN War Crimes Commission. They contain information on about 40,000 people."

"Obviously those who defend the Hitlerites are also not sitting idle?"

"I agree. In the United States far from everyone welcomes the activity of the special investigation section. Some people even cite the process of democratization and glasnost in the USSR. It is time to assume a stance of all-forgiveness, they say. But that is intolerable.

"A committee has been created in the United States to defend former Cleveland inhabitant Ivan Demyanyuk, who has been handed over to Israel. Over $500,000 has been collected just to pay for the services of a lawyer. Congressmen are being worked on. Similar work is being done in Canada. After all, former Nazis can see that their fellow butchers are gradually being handed over to justice. The circle is closing in. They are operating flagrantly and actively. That is why the meeting in Washington was necessary to consolidate the efforts of the legal organs."

"During your meetings in the United States you probably also discussed legal questions of a broader nature?"

"Both we and the representatives of a number of Western countries believe the problem of prosecuting Nazi criminals to be one aspect of cooperation in the sphere of human rights. This was stated during our talk with Richard Schifter, assistant U.S. secretary of state for human rights. We also discussed a broader range of problems with him. Schifter suggested the mutual exchange of specialists to study questions of improving the legislation of the two countries.

"...It is a good thing that such substantial advances have taken place in the West's position. We will not flatter ourselves too much, but there are grounds for optimism. Only further real deeds can be the main yardstick of the sincerity of our Western partners in bringing Nazi criminals to justice.

Human Rights Official on U.S., Austria Relations

AU2802145489 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 28 Feb 89 p 2

[Hilde Satz report: "Moscow Human Rights President Banks on Dialogue"]

[Excerpts] Vienna—"We have given other countries so much bad advice that we are now afraid to give them good advice. We prefer discussions." In an interview for DIE PRESSE, Fedor Burlatskiy, president of the USSR

Human Rights Commission, clearly rejects the former USSR policy of intervention. He banks on dialogue because "new thinking" has begun. [passage omitted]

Referring to relations with the United States, the East-West expert—he accompanied Kremlin leader Gorbachev to all summit meetings with U.S. President Reagan—does not expect any major changes under George Bush. "It is easier to proceed along traditional lines." However, Moscow would be ready for "radical measures," for example, in the field of disarmament, as "Gorbachev is an active politician." By the way, this activity is also demonstrated by the new style toward China, he stated.

Burlatskiy—who is in Vienna at the invitation of the OeVP [Austrian People's Party] Political Academy and held talks with OeVP Floor Leader Koenig and SPOe [Socialist Party of Austria] Foreign Political Spokesman Jankowitsch, among others—also showed caution with regard to the question of EC membership to which Austria aspires. This is an Austrian affair, he says. However, he nevertheless points out Soviet concerns about neutrality: "There is the fear that Austria might lose its function as a bridge between East and West." However, he does not believe that Moscow will try to prevent membership.

UN Body Discusses Orbital Ecological Monitoring

LD0203205889 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] New York March 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

The proposal to set up an integrated information system of ecological monitoring from outer space was tabled by the Soviet delegation at the 26th session of the U.N. Scientific and Technical Sub-committee on Peaceful Uses of Space which is now underway at U.N. Headquarters.

The cost of setting up such a system will run into billions but an estimated economic pay-off from averting damage to nature will exceed the cost many times over.

Speakers at the session pointed out that mankind's destiny hinges on resolving ecological problems. This is why the urgent task of coordinating national programmes and international cooperation efforts in the field features prominently on the session's agenda.

Cooperation is necessary in creating technical means of ecological monitoring, processing obtained information and promoting free exchange of information and new ideas.

Attaching great importance to cooperation of all states in averting global ecological threat, the Soviet Union has proposed the idea of setting up an international space lab or a manned orbital station to monitor weather conditions.

The Soviet Union has also declared its readiness to take the initial practical step by installing in a special probing module additional devices for monitoring atmospheric conditions, land and water surface state and the planet's radiation balance. The module is to be launched into orbit and docked to the manned orbital station "Mir" in 1991.

For the first time in many years a remarkable new opportunity for expanding cooperation in peaceful uses of space has been proposed, Professor John Carver of Australia, chairman of the U.N. sub-committee told TASS. The idea of setting up an orbital ecological station sounds very attractive to me, he said.

The session is also discussing another Soviet proposal. It is to use the Krasnoyark radio relay station as the base for an international space research centre. The idea was first suggested by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session last December.

Protocol on Live Telecast From South Pole Signed

LD0203125389 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—The signing of a protocol of intent in Moscow on Thursday to establish a joint venture to arrange a live telecast from the South Pole was the chief result of the meeting of representatives of leading television networks of the Soviet Union, the United States, France, and Japan.

Artur Chilingarov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, told TASS that the international satellite communications organisation Intersputnik and the joint Soviet-American-French enterprise Transantarctica will also take part in implementing the unique project.

A live telecast from the South Pole is to be carried out from two Soviet Antarctic stations, Vostok and Mirny, in December this year and March next year, Chilingarov said. The telecast is expected to encompass not only the television audiences of the participating countries but also to involve television channels of other countries. We intend to time it for the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Antarctic Treaty and for an international transantarctic trek by a dog sledding team via the South Pole.

During the meeting in Moscow, the participants agreed to set up a special joint working group to plan out all technical, financial and supply expenses. The group is to submit its proposals by mid-April 1989.

Nuclear Power Plant Council of Directors Formed
LD0203172689 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] An international seminar involving heads of nuclear power stations of the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and Finland has been held at the nuclear power station near the city of Rovno in the Ukraine. Experts from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Finland exchanged information about the safety of their stations and decided to form a council of directors of nuclear power plants.

Commenting on the move, the director of the Dukovany nuclear power station, Jiri Golec of Czechoslovakia, said participants in the seminar had decided to set up the council because advantages of nuclear power engineering could be realized and accepted by humanity only if the safety norms were strictly observed.

Ryzhkov Greets World Power Industry Talks
PM0203111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Undated greetings message from N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: "To the Participants in the Moscow International Power Engineering Club Constituent Conference"]

[Text] I cordially greet the participants and guests at the Moscow International Power Engineering Club Constituent Conference.

The creation of this international nongovernmental organization is consonant with positive world trends and the development of creative contacts among specialists in different spheres of human activity. It will enable scientists, power engineers, economists, ecologists, philosophers, writers, public figures, and businessmen to discuss the entire range of problems linked with providing mankind with sufficient quantities of power and working out scientifically substantiated recommendations on questions of power generation policy.

The power generation problem concerns people's interests and the fate of future generations. That is why it is impossible to resolve it without taking common human interests into account. As a most important part of the world economy and the basis of its growth and prosperity, modern power engineering can develop confidently on the basis of international cooperation and a wide program of measures to elaborate and utilize energy-saving technologies and protect the environment.

The world community, relying on scientific and technical progress and the hopeful improvements in international relations, is capable of finding the resources to implement such a program. The switching of some parts of military industry to the production of civilian output could be of great benefit. The Soviet Union, following the restructuring policy, is prepared to cooperate with all countries in this noble cause.

The Soviet Government sees the creation of the Moscow International Power Engineering Club as an important step in pooling the intellectual potential of a wide range of countries in order to resolve the global problems facing mankind.

I hope that the work of the conference participants and guests will be fruitful.

[Signed] N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

United States & Canada

New Climate in U.S.-USSR-PRC Ties Viewed

LD0303073689 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—"A new political climate is being formed within the framework of relations between the USSR, the U.S. and China. Instead of 'playing various cards' and setting one country against another, a course of cooperation has been proclaimed", the Soviet weekly NEW TIMES wrote in its latest issue, assessing the results of George Bush's talks in the People's Republic of China.

According to NEW TIMES, the U.S. and China welcomed progress in their relations with the USSR and, at the same time, assured each other that they would not negatively affect Chinese-American cooperation. During the talks the U.S. President and Chinese leaders analyzed in a constructive way problems connected with detente, disarmament, restructuring and reforms in the USSR and China, as well as some regional conflicts.

Of course, not all the opinions expressed at the talks are similar to those of Soviet leaders. This is especially true of the Kampuchean and Afghan problems, NEW TIMES pointed out. The stands of the two sides at the talks were not always identical either. On a number of aspects of international relations, Chinese representatives expressed views that were more consonant with the stand of Moscow rather than Washington, specifically, on Korea and the Middle East. However, the differences should not be overestimated. They can be overcome if the strategies of all the three powers are based on the desire for cooperation with the opponent and not on the intention to restrain and weaken them at any cost. The second part of the agenda of the talks included bilateral American-Chinese relations. The President assured Chinese leaders that his administration would unswervingly put into practice the policy of "one China" and observe the agreements on the Taiwan problem.

However, the Beijing talks did not iron out all the problems in American-Chinese relations. The difference in the two sides' interpretation of human rights again came to the forefront. China expressed disappointment over the U.S. attempts to support people who favour the country's development along Western lines. "It is difficult to overcome some of the differences, because they are based on the objective discrepancy of the two countries' interests. And still, both government seem to be able and ready to keep the differences within certain limits", NEW TIMES pointed out.

'More Balanced' U.S.-USSR-PRC Ties Seen

PM0203114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Doctor of Historical Sciences Ye. Bazhanov article: "Equation With Many Unknown Quantities. On the Results of G. Bush's Visit To China"]

[Text] The new President's first trip abroad has just ended. Contrary to tradition, G. Bush preferred this to be to Asia rather than Europe or neighboring countries on the American Continent. The talks that the head of the new U.S. Administration had in China have attracted a very great deal of attention. The results of these talks will be analyzed further, notably in Washington and Beijing. Nevertheless, certain conclusions can be drawn even now.

U.S.-PRC relations have a complex destiny; their path has been tortuous with many rapids. In the late seventies under President Carter it seemed that all the anxiety and resentment had become a thing of the past. U.S.-Chinese cooperation experienced a "honeymoon" and the future appeared in rosy hues. However, rapid disappointment lay in store for the optimists. With the coming to power of R. Reagan in 1980, the political "bridges" built across the Pacific began to creak under the pressure of storm winds.

Misunderstandings and contradictions began to pile up one after the other in U.S.-Chinese relations. In an attempt to rescue the situation, R. Reagan sent Vice President G. Bush to the Chinese capital in spring 1982.

In subsequent years the United States fought tense "rearguard actions" with China to ensure that Beijing remained closer to Washington than to Moscow. G. Bush, who visited the PRC again in 1985 and had regular meetings with the representatives of the Chinese leadership in the United states, also took an active part in this struggle. But, despite the exhortations, Chinese diplomacy gradually turned toward establishing more balanced relations with East and West, with the USSR and the United States. This movement was appreciably speeded up following the beginning of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the amendments to Soviet foreign policy. The breakthrough finally occurred, and Moscow and Beijing announced the impending full normalization of mutual political relations.

It was at this time that G. Bush took over the reins of government in the White House from R. Reagan. He was faced with the question of how to react to the coming changes in the U.S.-USSR-PRC "Great Triangle." Because the New World always feared the prospect of rapprochement between the "two communist giants," the President decided to waste no time in consolidating relations with China.

G. Bush's reception in China was interesting. China's leaders explained that they would build relations with the USSR that would not be to the detriment of their "special and close" ties with the United States, and hoped that their cooperation with the United States would "flourish" under the incumbent President. You can find articles in the Chinese press saying that "there may be some ups-and-downs" in the foreseeable future in relations within the "Great Triangle," but "there will not be any unexpected, drastic, or major changes."

The White House also received positive signals from Moscow. The USSR pointed out that Soviet-Chinese relations should be based on the universal principles of peaceful coexistence and cannot be directed against third countries. People in Washington, correspondingly, realize that both China and the Soviet Union are interested in the relaxation of tension, disarmament, and constructive cooperation with the West and so will not sacrifice the capital that has been accumulated in this sphere.

Nonetheless, the U.S. capital is still not completely at ease. American specialists argue as follows. The situation within the "Great Triangle" is changing considerably. It was far easier for the United States to talk with the USSR and the PRC when they were at odds with one another. Now, having secured a "stable rear" in Soviet-Chinese relations, both Moscow and Beijing will allegedly conduct dialogue with the West more confidently and from "a position of strength."

A different picture is emerging in the military-strategic sphere. People in the Pentagon fear that a thaw on the Soviet-Chinese border will lead to the redeployment of both countries' troops to other areas, to China's developing a new view of the U.S. bases in the Asia-Pacific region, and so on. Amendments will have to be made to standing plans: It will no longer be possible to count on Beijing's support in the event of an outbreak of Soviet-U.S. confrontation. The future policies of Japan, South Korea, the ASEAN countries, Australia, and New Zealand in the light of the USSR-PRC reconciliation are provoking unpleasant thoughts in Washington. Will the U.S. allies and friends in Asia and the Pacific reassess their values?

I do not believe that G. Bush's Far East tour will enable the United States to completely solve political equations that have many unknown quantities. This process is complex. It involves very diverse forces within U.S. society, including people who profoundly distrust the USSR and the PRC.

Nevertheless, although the debate is still going on in Washington, certain nuances of U.S. policy in Asia can already be glimpsed. G. Bush advocated deepening disarmament processes and welcomed the improvement in USSR-PRC relations. He described M.S. Gorbachev's coming visit to China as a "good thing." The President gave assurances of his administration's unwillingness to play the Soviet or China "cards" and said that the visit to the PRC "would not give off any signals that could damage anyone's interests."

Sino-U.S. relations can, obviously, be strengthened through constructive international cooperation. Moreover, untapped reserves for this lie in resolving bilateral problems. These are what has given rise to Beijing and Washington's irritation with one another over the past few years. On the one hand, in its desire to consolidate its ties with China, the United States extended China's access to capital and advanced technologies. While on the other, R. Reagan's administration, spurred on by the Congress, continued to violate the accords on Taiwan, harshly demanded that Beijing stop sending missiles to the Persian Gulf zone, and criticized the Chinese authorities for "human rights violations" and the policy of restricting the birth rate.

Will the sides be able to resolve the disagreements that have arisen not only and not so much through the vagaries of politicians as through profound ideological, political, economic, and cultural differences between the United States and the PRC? G. Bush has promised to help eliminate the disagreements in U.S.-Chinese relations. He confirmed that the U.S. Administration is fully determined to observe the agreements on Taiwan and preserve the openness of the U.S. market. Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, expressed satisfaction that ties between the two countries have developed stably in the past few years.

During the U.S. President's stay in the PRC, entreaties were heard from across the ocean demanding that the Chinese leadership "restrict the sale of missiles to dictators, warning it that otherwise it will not be able to count on U.S. cooperation in the technological sphere." G. Bush was also asked to raise in Beijing the question of "the release of all political prisoners and the question of Tibet." According to reports, the U.S. side raised some of these topics at the Beijing talks, which definitely clouded the atmosphere of the visit. The Chinese leaders pointed out that attempts to influence the PRC's policy and interfere in its internal affairs "would inevitably cast a shadow" over relations between the two countries.

If G. Bush's administration proves itself capable of choosing the new thinking, then the prospects not only for U.S.-Chinese relations but also for the international situation as a whole will be brighter. In order to achieve this it is necessary to abandon throwbacks to the great-power mentality, ideological prejudice, mistrust, and fear that give rise to the strong-arm approach.

Soviet Ambassador to U.S. Holds News Conference
LD0203225289 Moscow TASS in English 2238 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 3 TASS—Yuriy Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the U.S.A., had a meeting with correspondents of major American newspapers and magazines in the Soviet Embassy in Washington on Thursday. It lasted an hour and a half. The very fact of the meeting reflects changes in Soviet diplomacy, filling with concrete contents the notion of new thinking in foreign policy, glasnost in foreign policy. Briefings for local reporters become a characteristic feature of the embassy's work. The meeting also reflected the growing interest of the American media not only in the events in the USSR, but also in the special role played by the improvement of Soviet-American relations in the solution of comprehensive world and regional problems.

It is characteristic that many reporters tried to learn from the Soviet ambassador if he knows from his official meetings when the new administration is to conclude the review of its foreign policy. Such questions reflected the awareness of the fact that it is only through the ensurance of constructive continuity in the development of ties between the two countries that the further warming of the international climate can be guaranteed.

Yuriy Dubinin emphasized that the USSR is prepared to conduct negotiations with the Bush administration at every level and on all international and bilateral problems. Journalists were familiarised with the main directions of the USSR foreign policy, with the stand of the USSR on arms limitation and reduction, with the Soviet Union's concrete contribution to the lowering of the dangerous military confrontation in Europe, the USSR's approach to the settlement of the Middle East conflict, the situation in Afghanistan, the USSR's stand with regard to an alarming situation around the book by British author Rushdie and the Soviet Union's expressed readiness to play a positive role in settling a potentially dangerous situation.

The Soviet ambassador expressed the hope that the coming meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Vienna will make it possible to establish a good contact between leaders of the foreign policy departments of the two countries, to exchange opinions on questions of interest to both sides and pave the ground for a visit of the U.S. secretary of state to the USSR. The Soviet ambassador emphasized the importance attached by the USSR to the development of personal contacts between Soviet and American leaders.

The correspondents' attention was drawn to the stand of the Warsaw Treaty countries on methods of calculating correlation of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe. They were, specifically, familiarized with the article by Marshal Akhromeyev published in PRAVDA, the article which contains the Soviet appraisal of NATO's distorted data about the numerical strength of the Warsaw Treaty forces in Europe.

The Soviet ambassador was asked a question about the extremely large work load of the Consular Department of the USSR Embassy in Washington and of the U.S. Consulate in Moscow, which can hardly cope with processing the sharply increased number of applications for visas for visits of citizens of both countries to the USSR and the U.S.A. Dubinin said that the question of expanding the consular staff of both countries is discussed with the U.S. side, and it is hoped that it will be resolved shortly.

Exhaustive and specific answers were given to all the questions from reporters. Following the meeting, the American journalists thanked the Soviet ambassador for the opportunity for a sincere conversation on all questions of interest.

Nixon's Advice on USSR, Gorbachev Criticized

LD0203202489 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Vladimir Bogachev commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 2—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

After the Watergate scandal and forced departure from the White House in 1974, it was Richard Nixon's favorite pastime to give free recommendations on Soviet-U.S. relations to all succeeding presidents.

New U.S. President George Bush was not spared either by the hero of the Watergate affair. In a lengthy article, published by FOREIGN AFFAIRS magazine, Nixon does not conceal his concern that "Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroyka have been hailed, even by some hard-line Western leaders, as heralding the end of the Cold War." He advises the head of the U.S. Administration to "launch our own political offensive to achieve our strategic and geopolitical objectives", and adds that the main causes of the Cold War "still endure" and "his (Gorbachev's) talent and capabilities can just as easily make the world a more dangerous place as they can contribute to greater global security."

Paying lip service to the current reforms in the Soviet Union, Nixon also acknowledges the Soviet leader's "realism, quickness, and intelligence". But exactly these reasons, he continues, make Mikhail Gorbachev "from the West's point of view, not necessarily a better type of leader."

Nixon strongly urges to put pressure on the Soviet Union and make it agree to American terms at any negotiations. He thinks that the United States should back away from the agreed-upon provisions of the treaty on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, continue the large scale "star wars" programme, and "link" any arms control agreements to political concessions from the Soviet Union in fields which have nothing to do with disarmament.

The U.S. neoglobalist goals, Nixon explicitly admits, are hampered by the fact that "for many in Europe and the United States, the fear of the Soviet Union has waned." He quotes former British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan as saying once that "alliances were held together by fear, not love" and goes on to suggest that NATO issue a joint statement that "educates their publics on the nature and scope of the Soviet threat."

Nixon's "new recommendations" to the current U.S. President are nothing short of a proposal to retreat to the old positions of the Cold War period with all that goes with it. The article is marked by the nostalgia of a politician who lost the top executive post in the great country, for the time of the Vietnam War and the long-defunct doctrines which bore his name.

It is quite possible that Nixon also expressed in his article the view of other "Cold War knights" in the United States. It is hard to believe, however, that at our time of dynamic change on the road to a new political thinking this point of view can triumph in Washington.

Leningrad Citizens Protest U.S. Project

LD0203213389 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Leningrad citizens have staged a rally to protest against the planned construction of a tourist, cultural, and sports complex on the northern coast of the Gulf of Finland. The project became known to the public only after the city council had signed a relevant agreement with an American firm, which was offered to lease a land plot for a term of 50 years.

Meanwhile, the gulf waterfront is a health resort zone. Experts maintain the construction may lead to serious ecological imbalances.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Takeshita Views Ties, Northern Territories

PM0203143789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita by IZVESTIYA's Tokyo correspondent S. Agafonov: "Noboru Takeshita: Creating a Climate of Mutual Trust"—date of interview not given; first five paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Our country and Japan are separated by just over 3 km of sea, two wars and one intervention in less than 100 years of contact, and a chilly wind of distrust and enmity, honed by decades of confrontation and multiplied by the differences in political systems, historical experience, economic potential, and, simply, views of life. The positive accretions of our relations are considerably fewer and have been confined to brief thaws.

The alienation in our relations persists to this day; in fact it has become extremely marked in the conditions of the general warming of the international climate in the world. Both Moscow and Tokyo are well aware of this, which in itself inspires hope. Last December, during the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Japan, the first glimmers of the long-awaited thaw were observed.

In present circumstances it is extremely important to listen attentively to one's partner, familiarize ourselves with the Japanese view of both world and bilateral affairs, and do everything to widen the direct dialogue, extending it to the widest audience. On this basis, our Tokyo correspondent S. Agafonov asked Noboru Takeshita, Japanese prime minister and chairman of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, for an interview.

Noboru Takeshita is 65, and has been a member of the Japanese parliament for 31 years. The present prime minister of Japan comes from a winegrower's family in the mountainous prefecture of Shimane in the western part of the country. He graduated from Waseda University, taught English at a secondary school, and played sports (he has a sixth degree black belt in judo). The first cabinet under Takeshita's leadership was formed in November 1987.

In publishing his answers we are aware that they contain much that could seem unusual to our readers and even provoke their disagreement.

[Agafonov] A Japanese prime minister has never before spoken out in the Soviet press. Please regard this new move not as an exception, but as the first step in establishing a good tradition—a direct address by the Japanese head of government to millions of Soviet people, who follow with sincere sympathy and unconcealed interest Japan's successes and achievements in various spheres, giving due credit to our Far Eastern neighbor for the path it has traveled.

In this connection I would like to dwell first on Japan as it is today. What do you see as its main peculiarities, where is the country going, what problems are of paramount interest to you, as prime minister, in the sphere of the economy and domestic policy?

[Takeshita] Before I answer your first question, allow me to express satisfaction and gratitude for the opportunity to convey my thoughts directly to the Soviet people, for whom I feel a profound respect, through an influential Soviet press organ, the newspaper IZVESTIYA. I expect that in the future the leaders of Japan—a country that is the USSR's neighbor—will often address Soviet readers directly on matters of interest to the two countries' peoples, because I am convinced that this form of dialogue can do much to promote mutual understanding between us.

The path we traveled in the period of over 40 years since Japan made a new start after the end of World War II was far from easy. It was an era of drastic, abrupt changes, including the rise from the postwar ruins, the adoption of a democratic constitution, which gives full guarantees of basic human rights for all the people and includes the renunciation of war as a means of resolving international disputes, the attainment of true independence, and economic development at a speed that has no precedent in mankind's history. All this happened against the background of major political and economic events in the outside world, and that also left its mark; but thanks to creative ideas originating among the people and, of course, intensity of effort by the Japanese people themselves, we met the challenge of history and the difficulties the times created for us.

Looking back at the experience of past years and defining guidelines for the future, I think the main highway along which our country should proceed, the main task facing Japan, is the strengthening of democracy and the safeguarding of peace on the basis of stable economic development. Our people now see it as their mission to set a unique example in historical practice—to demonstrate the possibility of being a major economic power without becoming a military power. And also, concerning the economy, we realize how much our role and our responsibility to the rest of the world have increased, and therefore we believe that we should make every effort to preserve and strengthen the open system of free enterprise and make use of the successes we have achieved to help the developing countries.

[Agafonov] Everything is interconnected on our planet, and no country can exist in isolation today. The growth of mutual influence between economies, cultures, and traditions is one of the most dynamic processes of our day. What is the response to it in Japan? And another closely related question on Japan's place and role in the modern world and the extent of its influence on international processes. What is your view of these problems; what would you single out as the main priorities in Japan's global policy at present?

[Takeshita] To begin with, I wish to note the fact that our country owes its postwar economic and social prosperity largely to the open international economic system, which made possible the free circulation of raw and semifinished materials, financial resources, cadres, and information. World history from the early thirties until the mid-forties showed that the desire to defend one's economy by means of closing it and curtailing external contacts led to economic collapse. Postwar history took a different path. I believe the gentlemen in the Soviet Union will agree with me that we are now observing an unprecedented expansion of international collaboration, a growth in exchanges across state borders, and a deepening of interdependence in the international community. In this sense a broad view of world problems on a global scale is required of us more than ever before.

Each country, on the basis of its own ideas and achievements, historical experience, and economic and other potential, should contribute as best it can to the well-being of all mankind. If you approach the problem from this angle, Japan has already done much in this direction, and we can and must continue in the same way. After the inauguration of my Cabinet in November 1987, I set myself a task that I formulated as my main task in the sphere of global policy: "Making Japan a country that makes a contribution to the entire world." Here there are several priority points I would like to speak about individually.

First, in the postwar years in the sphere of national defense Japan has adhered to a policy based on the peace Constitution and built on a system of Japanese-American security agreements, following the principle of self-defense exclusively. Japan is a member of the group of free democratic countries, but at the same time it is a country that forms part of the Asian and Pacific region, seeking actively to promote peace throughout the world. Japan is struggling for realization of the idea of a flourishing economic society in which freedom prevails and equality and the initiative of the individual in public life are respected. Japan is setting an example for the whole world as an economic power not based on military might. Thus the history of Japan's postwar development can be regarded, in our view, as unique.

Second, in view of the fact that Japan's economic might is now in excess of 10 percent of world GNP, we understand that our influence invests us with great responsibility, which should be manifested in such spheres as strengthening international cooperation, managing the national economy and strengthening the system of multilateral free trade, increasing imports, and making scientific and technical achievements available to other countries. In these spheres Japan will demonstrate the most active approach and put forward new initiatives.

Permit me in this context to dwell on the "international cooperation initiative" which, at my proposal, began to be implemented last year. Its main aim is to bring the level of our country's participation in the resolution of international issues into line with the positions we have achieved above all in the economy and technology in the world.

The first component of this initiative is cooperation in the sphere of ensuring world peace, that is, the struggle to prevent conflicts and diplomatic efforts to resolve them peacefully, aid to refugees and help in overcoming the consequences of conflicts, and financial participation and the sending of personnel within the framework of UN peacekeeping activity. As for disarmament, this is the most urgent task facing mankind today. During my visit to the United States in February, agreement was reached with UN Secretary General de Cuellar that in April of this year an international conference on disarmament questions will be held in Kyoto under UN auspices, with the question of creating a comprehensive system of monitoring and verification of nuclear tests being the central item on the agenda. To be specific, Japan gives active support to international efforts to preserve the peace agreement between Iran and Iraq that was reached recently; sends aid through the UN to Afghan refugees returning home; sends specialists to Afghanistan; and will support UN activity to grant independence to Namibia, step up its role in the quest for a solution to the Cambodian problem and the restoration of Cambodia, and participate in a number of other international programs.

Another aspect of the initiative is the expansion of economic aid to the developing coutnries, because without prosperity for the South there can be no stable prosperity for the North. Japan will soon become the

world's biggest donor in terms of the volume of economic aid, and the level of Japan's annual contribution for these purposes will reach $10 billion. These funds will be channeled into the development of the economy and the stabilization of social life in the developing countries.

Mention should also be made of questions of international cultural exchange, the struggle to preserve the world cultural heritage, intellectual exchanges, and so forth.

Japan's role is also increasing in other spheres of international cooperation. Last year, as you know, in his UN speech General Secretary Gorbachev dwelt on questions of the environment and ecology. An international conference on environmental conservation on a global scale will be held in Tokyo this fall, with the participation of public figures and scientists form all over the world. I hope your country will participate actively.

[Agafonov] The Asia and Pacific region is often called the locomotive of the 21st century, preference is given to it in predictions for the future and great hopes are pinned on it. It is no exaggeration to say that Japan plays a key role here, and is dominant in many aspects. What are the basic principles of Japan's regional policy, and what are Japan's interests in the Asia and Pacific region?

[Takeshita] I regard IZVESTIYA's question highlighting the Asia and Pacific region separately as extremely timely. As we know from Mr Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, the Soviet Union has in recent years stepped up its interest in the region, and we in Japan are watching this with great attention. I would like us to be able to make a substantial contribution, jointly with the USSR, to the economic and social development of this region of the planet and take concrete steps to strengthen peace and stabilize the situation in the region.

As your newspaper rightly notes, the Asia and Pacific region is now experiencing unprecedentedly dynamic changes both in the economy and in politics. In the political sphere, there is the continuing modernization of China, based on the course of opening up the country, the efforts of the states concerned to promote the relaxation of tension in the Korean peninsula, movement toward a political solution to the Cambodian problem, the development of relations of cooperation between the ASEAN countries, and other positive trends. In the economic sphere, the new industrial countries of Asia, the ASEAN countries, and Japan are actively developing economic ties, deepening their interdependence, and acting as leaders of regional development, which has an influence on the economic situation worldwide. In my view, a characteristic feature of the Asia and Pacific region now is the beneficial reciprocal influence of positive economic and political trends. Here economic growth and democratization are proceeding simultaneously, which puts the region, in a sense, in an ideal position, and that is why people say that the 21st century will be the age of Asia and the Pacific.

Japan welcomes this turn of events, supports it, and is prepared to do everything to strengthen this trend. We are well aware that our country cannot exist geographically, economically, or historically in isolation from the Asian and Pacific region. I took part in the conference of heads of government of the ASEAN countries and Japan in Manila in December 1987, where I set forth the main avenues of our Asian policy course. At that time I had only been prime minister for just over a month, but it was obvious to me that the first thing for a head of the Japanese Cabinet to do was to reaffirm our line of developing friendly ties and cooperation with neighboring states in the region.

Our main guidelines in regional policy are the safeguarding of peace and the stabilization of the situation in the Asian and Pacific region, the preparation of the ground for a broad dialogue with the countries of the region, the active exchange of visits and talks between leaders of Asian and Pacific countries, and the constant exchange of opinions with the powers that play an important part in preserving peace and security in the region—the United States, the USSR, and China. I have already noted that Japan is a member of the group of countries of free democracy, and therefore at the meeting of the "Seven" in June 1988 I naturally devoted much time to explaining the importance of the geographical region in which Japan is located.

I would particularly like to mention the economy of the Asian and Pacific region. Exceptionally broad relations of cooperatioin exist here, and a characteristic feature of regional economic contacts is, in my view, their total maturity, based on mutual advantage. Today many Japanese companies are actively investing capital and technology in the ASEAN states, thereby stimulating industrial growth there. This brings our Asian partners such benefits as guaranteed employment, the provision of financial resources and manufacturing equipment, and the development of industry and enterprise. At the same time imports to Japan of goods produced in neighboring countries are increasing, inequalities in trade and economic ties are being rectified, and prices are being stabilized. Thus, a sphere of highly dynamic economic operations is being created in the Asia and Pacific region and interdependence is developing, which, in our view, is an important development promoting the stabilization of the situation in the region.

Japan has long regarded the Asia and Pacific region as a priority region for the provision of economic aid, compared with other parts of the world. We send here two-thirds of the volume of resources allocated for foreign economic aid, and in 1987 investments totaled

$3.5 billion. It is generally acknowledged that these subsidies play a significant role in the region's rapid economic development, and we intend to continue this financial policy in future.

To end the discussion of regional affairs, I would like to mention particularly the USSR's role in the Asia and Pacific region. As I noted before, our country is following with keen interest the Soviet Union's foreign policy based on the new thinking, expecting and hoping that the USSR may contribute to the cause of peace and stability in the region through concrete actions of its own. With regard to elimination of the various seats of tension and disputes in the Asia and Pacific region, we assess highly the full withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the efforts being made to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations, including direct dialogue between the sides at the highest level. In my opinion, if the Soviet Union makes use of the potential and influence it enjoys to improve the situation in the Korean peninsula and resolve the Cambodian question, these steps will make a strong impression on all the Asia and Pacific countries. And another point, concerning the qualitative and quantitative strengthening of Soviet troops in the Far East, which began in the seventies and continues to this day, this runs counter to the positive trends that can be observed throughout the region, and our country, like the majority of other Asian and Pacific states, has some fears on this score. The USSR took the initiative of publishing figures on its forces and reducing its Armed Forces by 500,000 men. If this initiative affects the Far East and leads to a substantial reduction in Soviet troops in the region, that can be welcomed as a manifestation of the USSR's real desire for genuine peace and stabilization of the situation in the region.

[Agafonov] Japan and the USSR are neighboring countries. However, our relations have not had an easy history; it does not consist only of positive pages. Even today we cannot boast a broad spectrum of contacts; their level can hardly be said to correspond to our countries' potential. At the same time, it is frequently claimed that this situation suits the Japanese side, that Japan is not ready for radical changes with respect to the Soviet Union, and that it stands to lose nothing if the USSR remains in the "second echelon" of Japanese foreign policy. What is your assessment of the prevailing situation? If the state of Soviet-Japanese relations seems far from perfect to you, what, in your opinion, could contribute to their development? In other words, how should Moscow act, what should Tokyo do in order to establish a full-blooded, goodneighborly dialogue in mutual interests, and can this be done at all, in view of the historical context and the current political realities?

[Takeshita] Before I answer these questions, allow me, first, to express gratitude to the Soviet side for sending the delegation headed by Mr Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to Japan to represent the USSR at the burial ceremony of the Showa Emperor.

And now, to the point. We regard the Soviet Union as a very important neighbor. Our country's fundamental position consists in seeking to establish stable relations based on genuine mutual understanding and trust, and developing them in a direction that will make it possible to make the most of the potential of possible cooperation between our two countries. There is no deviating from this fundamental position. In this respect, frankly speaking, we are dissatisfied with the present state of Japanese-Soviet relations.

Step-by-step our country is establishing stable political and economic ties not just with Western countries, but also with states in Asia, the Pacific, Africa, and Central and South America, even with the most remote partners. As for the USSR, our relations have not reached the desired level, and this fills us with deep regret.

Incidentally, certain progress in the development of bilateral ties between Japan and the USSR has nonetheless been achieved. Thus, in 1988 reciprocal commodity turnover reached the record sum of $5.9 billion, good business ties have been established and are in operation in the sphere of fisheries, and a cultural exchange is developing on the basis of an agreement concluded in 1986. Examples of successful cooperation include the opening of a Japanese garden in Moscow, the guest performances of the Kabuki theater in the Soviet Union, and the full auditoriums during visits to Japan by Soviet ballet, opera, and theater ensembles. There are achievements in the political sphere too—exchange visits by the countries' leaders, including parliamentarians, and constant consultations on international aspects. In the near future the exchange of delegations between Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the CPSU is to be stepped up.

It can be claimed that all this demonstrates our great opportunities in the sphere of bilateral cooperation. They are great also in the sphere of trade, economic cooperation, science, and technology, where there is a great potential for contacts of a mutually complementary nature. The expansion of cultural exchanges, moreover, is bound to enrich the hearts and souls of the two countries' peoples. I have already said that Japan and the USSR can proceed hand-in-hand in the same direction also beyond the framework of bilateral cooperation, on the scale of Asia and the Pacific region as a whole. In view of the position occupied by our two countries in the world, it is obvious that an improvement of bilateral relations is an integral part of a geniuine stabilization of East-West relations. Therefore it is quite obvious that we cannot be satisfied with the current level of the development of bilateral relations and that it is impossible to agree with the viewpoint that we stand to lose nothing if everything remains as it is.

The question, then, is: What must be done to achieve a radical shift in the development of Japanese-Soviet relations that would accord with the two peoples' common sense?

The answer to this question is very simple: We must conclude a peace treaty that would provide the basis for genuine relations of trust between our countries. In accordance with the 1956 joint declaration, Japan and the Soviet Union ended the state of war and reestablished diplomatic relations, but a peace treaty has still not been concluded and hence our ties remain unstable. The logical question arises: For what reason has a peace treaty not been concluded? The reason is that our countries have failed to find a solution to the territorial question.

When we are talking about the territorial question, we are referring to our demand that the Soviet Union return to Japan its ancient lands, the four islands—Khabomay, Shikotan, Kunashir, and Iturup—which were recognized as Japanese territory back in the 1855 Japanese-Russian treaty. From that time on until the end of the war in 1945 they had never belonged to anyone but Japan, and the Soviet Union itself never laid any claim to these territories. Despite this, at the end of World War II, in violation of the neutrality pact with Japan that was in force at that time and in contravention of the principle of nonexpansion of territories agreed between the allied powers, of which the Soviet Union was one, the USSR occupied these four islands and continues to hold them to the present day.

If we retrace the subsequent history, we will see that in the 1956 joint declaration the USSR promised to hand over Khabomay and Shikotan islands to Japan after the conclusion of a peace treaty. The same declaration made provision for the continuation of talks to this effect. However, after 1960 the Soviet Union declared unilaterally that it could not comply with these promises. Furthermore the USSR unilaterally withdrew the verbal assurance that the question of the four northern islands "is an unresolved postwar problem," an assurance that was given in 1973 during the meeting between General Secretary Brezhnev and Prime Minister Tanaka. It must be admitted with regret that all these facts have evoked the Japanese people's distrust toward the Soviet Union.

Fortunately, the Soviet side has of late changed its position, which consisted of denying that there is a territorial question between Japan and the Soviet Union, and is prepared to discuss this problem. In December 1988, during the visit to Japan by USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, this problem was discussed at length within the framework of talks on the peace treaty. The fact that no change can be observed in the Soviet approach as such is the source of great regret, but a mechanism for talks does already exist. In December 1988 a permanently functioning working group on the peace treaty at the level of deputy foreign ministers was also set up. In order to ensure the stable development of Japanese-Soviet relations, it is necessary to create a climate of mutual trust. This is of fundamental importance. In order to achieve this, it is clearly necessary for the Soviet side to adopt a political decision on the necessity to resolve the territorial question, conclude a peace treaty with Japan, and enter into serious dialogue with us. In turn, I would like to reaffirm our approach that the Japanese side is ready to work tirelessly toward finding a common language on this question, toward a serious, frank, and constructive dialogue that would lead us to a common understanding. Is this not the key to further development of our relations?

General Secretary Gorbachev is regarded in Japan as an outstanding leader who proceeds from realistic positions and is capable of adopting key political decisions. I highly value the new diplomacy as practiced by the general secretary, which is making a great contribution to the cause of the stabilization of East-West relations. I have already invited Mr Gorbachev to visit Japan. I know that this visit has been included on the political agenda of the general secretary, and I dare believe that the first visit by the highest Soviet leader to Japan will be of historic importance for relations between our countries. I sincerely hope that this visit will take place and bring genuine benefit to our relations.

I would like to note that an upward development of our ties is bound to bear great fruit that will exceed all our past efforts. I believe that Japanese-Soviet relations are at an important stage of historical development at the moment.

[Agafonov] In conclusion, if you will permit, two questions of a personal nature. Which of the multitude of functions that you are required to carry out as prime minister causes you the most trouble and demands a special effort? And second, among the many books you have read in the course of your life were there any works by Russian authors, and if yes, what mark did they leave on your soul?

[Takeshita] A prime minister's work is connected not just with responsibility to his country and the Japanese people, but also with responsibility for the present and the future of the whole world. Every day and hour in this post is extraordinarily important and precious, and there is hardly any need to talk about this. When I think about the mission with which I have been entrusted, I cannot but feel the great internal strain caused by this burden. After all, it is my task to defend, maintain, and augment everything that has been created by my predecessors—our democracy, our free society, the peace achieved through the efforts of the entire international community—and in this work, everything is equally important.

As for your second question, I must say that I have retained since my youth the tremendous impression made on me by classical literature, including Tolstoy's "War and Peace." Above all because the theme of love of mankind permeates the whole book. I was strongly moved by precisely this humanist principle, and this humanism, which rises above all differences and surmounts all limitations and obstacles, and which is the

same at all times and everywhere, represents a special value. Another of my constant companions is Tchaikovsky. When I listen to his exquisite music I feel inner peace.

DPRK Urges ROK To Stop 'Team Spirit'

LD0203113889 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT 02 Mar 89

[Text] Panmunjom March 2 TASS—At the second meeting to prepare military and political talks between North and South Korea at prime minister's level, held here on Thursday, the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) urged an end to the holding of the joint U.S.-South Korean 'Team Spirit' military exercises.

The DPRK believes, Paek Nam-chun, the leader of the North Korean delegation, said, that the exercises constitute a rehearsal of aggression directed against the North and lead to a heightening of tension on the Korean peninsula and thereby greatly obstruct the conduct of the dialogue.

South Korean representatives, denying the aggressive character of the maneuvers, maintained that Team Spirit was not a hindrance to talks.

In this connection Paek Nam-chun pointed out that the termination of the exercises is "the first priority issue which has a direct bearing on this work." He emphasized that Team Spirit exercises and dialogue were incompatible. He pointed out that the DPRK did not hold joint military exercises with the Soviet Union and suggested that South Korea immediately discontinue the Team Spirit exercises and officially announce the move as an urgent measure to promote progress at the talks.

No accords were reached at the meeting. By mutual agreement the sides are to hold their next, third, preparatory meeting in Panmunjom on April 12.

'Next Soviet Leader' Yeltsin Urges ROK Ties

SK0103092089 Seoul MBC Television Network in Korean 1200 GMT 28 Feb 89

[MBC reporters Sin Yong-chin and Pak Yong-son video report from Moscow—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Anchorman Chu Song-chun in Seoul] Hello, viewers! This is the MBC news desk. Have Seoul and Moscow gotten closer? As the northern policy has been vigorously carried out, the people's attention to when and how our northern policy will safely land in Moscow is growing. MBC has sent a crew of reporters to Moscow. Our crew is extensively gathering news on various aspects of Soviet society. For the first time in the history of Korean broadcasting, we directly linked Moscow and Seoul via satellite. [Seoul KYONGHYANG SINMUN in Korean on 27 February on page 12 says the following segment dispatched from Moscow was recorded on the afternoon of 27 February] Moscow?

[Begin recording; video shows Sin Yong-chin and Pak Yong-son sitting in the studio of the Soviet State Television Corporation] [Sin] Here is Moscow. [passage omitted]

[Pak Yong-son] [passage omitted] For the first time for a Korean media organization, MBC received permission from the Soviet Government to report on an election campaign. At the campaign hall, we held an exclusive interview with Boris Yeltsin, who is strongly believed to be the next Soviet leader in the post-Gorbachev era. [video shows hall filled with people, speakers addressing audience] [passage omitted]

[video shows Yeltsin standing among a crowd of people speaking into Pak's microphone] [Yeltsin in Russian with Korean translation in subtitles] Korea and the Soviet Union must make efforts for friendly relations. In particular, they must develop from economic and cultural exchanges to diplomatic relations. I highly assess the Korean people's diligence and economic capability. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Near East & South Asia

'Western Sources' Say Gorbachev To Visit Syria

TA0203063089 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 2 Mar 89 p 1

[Report by diplomatic correspondent Menahem Shalev]

[Text] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is to visit Damascus in the next few weeks, marking yet another acceleration in Soviet involvement in the Middle East, THE JERUSALEM POST has learned.

According to reports reaching Jerusalem from Western sources, details of the visit were worked out in the Syrian capital during Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit there last week. The visit will be the first by the Soviet leader to the area.

It is unclear yet whether Gorbachev will make stops in any other Middle Eastern capitals.

The visit, analysts in Jerusalem said last night, is aimed at strengthening the recently-strained Soviet-Syrian alliance, and at advancing Soviet attempts to bring about a reconciliation between Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat. During his Middle East tour, Shevardnadze failed to arrange a meeting between 'Arafat and Al-Asad.

Relations between Damascus and Moscow have been tense lately, due to the Soviet refusal to supply Syria with all of the sophisticated weapons it wants, and Moscow's assertion that it will not support Syrian belligerency toward Israel.

Syria is unable to repay the approximately $12 billion it owes the Soviet Union, and Shevardnadze made no headway on this matter, sources in Jerusalem said. The Soviet Union appears to have given up any hope of repayment, and a visit by Gorbachev is interpreted here as giving an official stamp of approval to writing off the Syrian debt.

The high-profile attempt to reconcile Al-Asad and 'Arafat reinforces the analysis given here of Shevardnadze's visit, which says that Moscow is putting the PLO at the centre of its Middle East strategy, and that the Soviets are concerned that strains with Damascus could induce Al-Asad to try to play a limited American option.

The emphasis on the PLO found expression in Shevardnadze's speech last week in Cairo, in which he demanded that Israel start a dialogue with the organization as a precondition to resumption of full relations between Jerusalem and Moscow.

Iranian Majlis Backs Development of USSR Ties
PM0303120989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Turning Point"]

[Text] Nicosia, 2 Mar—The Iranian Majlis (Parliament) Foreign Affairs Commission has advocated the development of ties between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Soviet Union.

IRNA reported that Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, speaking at a routine session of the parliament, delivered a report on the results of USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Tehran and the talks held with him. It was stressed that both sides assessed the visit as a turning point in bilateral relations.

Iran Wants Rushdie Crisis To End; USSR Can Help
NC0203173389 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] If the controversy over "The Satanic Verses" by British author Salman Rushdie intensifies, it may exacerbate international affairs greatly. British-Iranian diplomatic relations are on the verge of being fully severed. To protest the threat to kill this book's author, some Western countries have summoned their representatives from Tehran. Iran is preparing to reciprocate.

The behavior by members of Islamic groups in countries where "The Satanic Verses" is published is becoming more and more that of warmongers each day. In short, the situation is becoming critical.

Naturally, any type of bullying or [word indistinct] deserves to be denounced. [Moscow World Service in English at 1210 GMT on 2 March broadcasts a similar version of Soltan's commentary which renders the preceding passages as follows: "The behavior of Muslim groups in the countries where "The Satanic Verses" has been published becomes increasingly belligerent. In short, tensions are rising. It goes without saying that all acts of violence and calls for them can only be deplored..."] Even though the rage of Muslims who regard "The Satanic Verses" as an insult to islam is understandable, the question nevertheless arises: What should be done next? Should one proceed toward confrontation and toward ultimatums whose tones become stronger and more threatening each day, or should one seek a logical way out of the existing situation—a way out that will be acceptable to all?

I think that there are no doubts as to which alternative should be chosen. The exacerbation of hostility between the Islamic world and those who have risen to defend Salman Rushdie is turning into a serious political issue that may have negative effects for both Iran and the Western countries that have been drawn into this controversy. Moreover, fanning the flames of controvery harms the process of creating international understanding and obstructs efforts to overcome regional crises. Can one be indifferent to such events?

The situation that has been created is a source of serious concern for the Soviet leadership. During his recent visit to Tehran, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze discussed this issue for more than 2 hours with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and with Majlis Speaker 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. The conclusion drawn by the Soviets was that the Iranian Government sincerely wants to overcome this situation that has been created and believes that the Soviet Union can play a positive role in this. The Soviet Union truly believes that the only way out of this situation is through talks and through creating an atmosphere of trust, not by fanning the flames of confrontation; and it is doing everything possible toward this.

The problems that have arisen in connection with the controversy over "The Satanic Verses" were discussed in Moscow with Fernandez-Ordonez, chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers and Spanish foreign minister. During a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and with other Western ministers early next week in Vienna, the Soviet (?minister) will discuss this issue.

It is hoped that a way to prevent an unfavorable international situation will emerge.

Akhromeyev Rebuts Sakharov Charge on Afghanistan
PM0203124189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 3

[V. Ostrovskiy report on 1 March telephone conversation from Moscow with Academician Andrey Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, in Canada, conducted by D. Sabob; commentary by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev and Afghan veteran Oleg Zapertov, published under the "Dialogue" rubric: "Is It True?"]

[Text] A copy of the Canadian newspaper, THE OTTAWA CITIZEN, which carried a report of a press conference given in Canada by Academician Andrey

Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, was received by the editorial office the other day. It stated, among other things, that during combat operations in Afghanistan Soviet helicopters opened fire many times on encircled Soviet soldiers to prevent them being taken prisoner. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA considered it of fundamental importance that exhaustive clarification be obtained from Academician Sakharov on this score. We tried all yesterday evening to locate him in Canada and then the United States. We got through to him in Boston late in the evening. The first question put over the telephone was: "Does the report in the Canadian newspaper regarding the content of your address at the press conference correspond to reality?"

"I was asked at the press conference whether I would be talking about the fate of Soviet POW's in Pakistan and Afghanistan with the Canadian prime minister. I consider that the question of POW's should first and foremost be raised in direct talks between the mujahidin and the Soviet Government. It is essential that such talks be held directly rather than via a third country. That was the main part of my response. I did, additionally, indeed recall cases where Soviet helicopters fired on encircled Soviet soldiers to prevent their being taken prisoner. These instances, judging by the testimony of witnesses, did take place. I based what I said on the evidence known to me."

The telephone was then taken by Academician Sakharov's wife, Yelena Bonner.

"We wish to make the following statement," she said. "From the very first day of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan we called for an end to that political and military adventure, which cost countless casualties among Afghan civilians. Around 1 million Afghans died as a result of military operations, the bombing of peaceful cities, and punitive actions. Some 15,000 Soviet servicemen, senselessly killed, also figure among the Afghan war victims.

"We know that both warring sides have POW's. We ask the leaders of the mujahidin to ensure the safety of Soviet POW's under their control. At the same time, we request that the Soviet authorities ensure the safety of all Afghan mujahidin and members of their families in Afghanistan and on USSR territory. We consider that the mujahidin were a belligerent party during the 9-year-long Afghan war. All the provisions of international conventions and agreements on the detention and exchange of POW's apply fully to all participants in the conflict. We call for immediate talks between the Soviet side and mujahidin representatives, regardless of the political and military situation in Afghanistan. UN and International Red Cross participation in such talks will promote a positive outcome to such talks, in our opinion.

"We consider that the release of all POW's should be accompanied by observance of the principle of complete freedom of choice as to their country of future residence."

"But why was this statement issued in Canada rather than here?"—I asked Sakharov.

"Because I was in Canada when the Soviet troops were withdrawn. I thought that it was the best time to publish the statement. The withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan is a very important, historic act."

"Where did you learn about the cases of encircled Soviet soldiers being destroyed? Do you have any proof?"

"I based what I said on Western press and radio reports. I am unable now, unfortunately, to give specific references to those people who can confirm this; they were participants in the war. This claim is based on testimony by witnesses. That is all I can say."

The Opinion of Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev

I read about Academician Sakharov's Canadian press statement. I can say the following on this score. From 1979 through 1988 inclusive (during the Soviet military contingent's stay in Afghanistan) I occupied leading posts in the General Staff and knew about all events connected with our soldiers' stay in Afghanistan on a detailed, daily basis. I can state with a full awareness of the responsibility I am taking that there was not a single case such as that related in the Canadian newspaper citing Academician Sakharov. Our combat helicopters never destroyed groups of Soviet servicemen encircled by the enemy. If Academician Sakharov has stated the opposite, it is a complete untruth.

I know a great number of cases where Soviet Air Force helicopter crews selflessly carried out their combat missions to deliver supplies and reinforcements to subunits of our servicemen in difficult situations during combat operations. In any weather conditions, day or night, and at the risk of their own lives our combat helicopter crews came to our servicemen's aid in the toughest combat conditions, even when the conditions were highly dangerous for combat operations.

The Soviet mass media have repeatedly reported the heroic actions of helicopter crews in ferrying the wounded from the field of battle in mountain terrain, where landing was fraught with danger to the lives of crew members. Soviet pilots performed such flights with honor.

A Veteran Speaks

Oleg Zapertov, chairman of the Komsomol Central Committee All-Union Association of Military-Patriotic Associations, Category-3 invalid, twice wounded in Afghanistan, said in his commentary on the report that every section commander was equipped with standard-issue smoke flares which enabled the location of Soviet subunits to be fixed.

Moreover, prior to each departure of groups of Soviet servicemen on a combat mission, commanders agreed on recognition signals and radio call signs with the Air Force command so that helicopter crews would not confuse their own people with the enemy from the air.

Afghan Foreign Minister Previews India Visit

LD0203215289 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 2 TASS—By TASS correspondents Andrey Greshnov and Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

India is a friendly neighbouring country, and Afghanistan attaches great importance to cooperation with it, the Afghan foreign minister told a news conference here on Thursday before his departure for India.

"The aim of my visit to India is to exchange views with Indian statesmen on several international issues and discuss questions regarding the situation in the region in general and Afghanistan in particular," said 'Abdul Wakil.

"Such an exchange of views has already become a good tradition," he observed. "Upon the completion of the Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan, we want to inform our Indian friends about progress in implementation of the Geneva agreements and about our view of future developments."

"We hope that New Delhi will put forward new initiatives for establishing peace and tranquility in Afghanistan that would be acceptable to all parties involved in the conflict.

I want to assert that good relations between the two countries are not intended to damage relations with any third party in the region. I can say with confidence that India is seeking to develop equally good relations with Pakistan, which was evidenced by the recent meeting of the two heads of government, Benazir Bhutto and Rajiv Gandhi," Wakil said.

At the same time, both India and Afghanistan were deeply concerned over Pakistan's military buildup and acquisition of fresh consignments of modern weapons, he said.

The stance of Pakistan's military circles was giving rise to similar concern, Wakil pointed out.

The visit to the United States by Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, chief of staff of the Pakistani land forces, brought about agreements envisaging the delivery of F-16 and other combat aircraft and hundreds of tanks to Pakistan. This threatened peace and security in the region.

Wakil described as a positive factor the UN secretary general's statement, made during a trip to India, to the effect that all parties to the Geneva accords should comply with them and strictly abide by their commitments in the name of ending the war and bloodshed in Afghanistan.

Since both the Soviet Union and Afghanistan had covered their part of the road towards fulfilling the Geneva Accords, it was clearly obvious that Javier Perez de Cuellar's appeal was addressed to Pakistan and the United States, the Afghan minister said.

Asked by TASS to comment on the United States' refusal to recognize at this stage the "government" thrown together by the opposition leaders in Rawalpindi, Wakil stressed that the U.S. stance with regard to the results of the Consultative Council's (shura's) meeting in Rawalpindi was realistic.

"As to the terms under which the American Administration would be prepared to recognize such a 'government,' that is when it establishes control over the entire Afghan territory. I can say that this will never happen," the Afghan foreign minister stated.

Wakil pointed to the calm situation that was established in Kabul following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and expressed hope that Western countries would restore their embassy personnel in the capital, the more so, for all property they own is protected by Afghan authorities.

He described as a good sign in this respect the International Red Cross's decision to return its staff to Kabul.

Rebel Attacks Across Afghanistan Reported

PM0203151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Afghanistan: Extremists Bomb Cities"]

[Text] Kabul, 1 Mar—In the last 24 hours hard-line opposition units have once again bombarded the cities of Jalalabad, Khowst, a number of population centers in Nangarhar Province's Rudat [name as transliterated] and Deh Bala counties, and also villages in Paktia Province's Meydan-e-Dzadzi County. BAKHTAR reported that five peaceful inhabitants have died and several people have been injured, including a young child.

Government troop subunits have eliminated 5 and wounded 10 extremists in Qandahar Province. During the hostilities mortars, machineguns, and a considerable quantity of small arms were seized from the rebels.

In the same province's Daman District, a clash took place between opposition detachments from the "Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan" and "National Islamic Front of Afghanistan" groupings, as a

result of which 11 people died and approximately 30 were injured. BAKHTAR reported that two Arab military instructors were killed in the course of the fighting.

Despite the continuation of hostilities, more than 120 Afghan citizens returned to Qandahar Province from Pakistan and Iran last week. The repatriated people have been given material aid and allocated transport to take them to their place of permanent residence.

On Tuesday a group of rebels under the leadership of one Hair Mohammad [name as received] transferred to the government side in Faryab Province. Former opponents of the people's power have organized a self-defense detachment in Kaysor District.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent another five notes to the UN observers' mission in Kabul citing instances of Pakistani violations of the Geneva agreements.

Kabul Bombing Damages National Council Building
PM0203150389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Extremists Bombing Cities"]

[Excerpt] Kabul, 1 Mar—Extremists from antigovernment groupings committed a new crime against the civilian residents of the Afghan capital Tuesday. Terrorists detonated two powerful explosive devices in direct proximity to the National Council Building and the Shakhe Shakhid [name as transliterated] filling station. BAKHTAR reports that this barbaric act left three citizens wounded and the National Council building severely damaged. [passage omitted]

Afghan Situation Viewed; U.S. Criticized
PM0203154989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[D. Meshchaninov review under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Afghanistan: External Forces Whipping Up Tension"]

[Text] "Kabul remains a peaceful city," the Indian newspaper NATIONAL HERALD wrote, informing its readers on the situation in Afghanistan. The newspaper underlined that the efforts of the armed opposition to overthrow the Najibullah government are not being successful.

According to REUTER, some of the International Red Cross Committee personnel evacuated from the Afghan capital shortly before the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan will start to return to Kabul in the next few days. "Many feared that there would be serious difficulties in Kabul after 15 February," Zh. Frezard [name as published], head of the mission, said. "But now, observing the development of events, we feel that we can gradually bring our people back."

Nevertheless, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has remained, according to India's NATIONAL HERALD, "a unilateral peace gesture," since the armed opposition's patrons are still giving it all-around aid.

"Highly placed spokesmen for the administration have said that the United States will continue to give military aid to the Afghan rebels via the Pakistani intelligence services, rather than send it directly to the recently formed government-in-exile," a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent wrote. "...Information on the extent of this military aid remains secret. But, according to some estimates, in 1988 the United States and Saudi Arabia allocated $700 million in military and other aid to the Afghan rebels. According to some highly placed administration officials, the United States and Saudi Arabia are expected to give approximately the same amount in aid to the rebels this year."

"Officials in the United States and Pakistan," THE NEW YORK TIMES continued, "agree that there is no point in wrecking the system of arms supplies that has worked successfully all these years. They believe that it would be too risky to give this responsibility to the 'embryonic' government, which could be rejected by the Afghan people or prove incapable of running the country."

The U.S. and Pakistani authorities are continuing to give political support to this "Peshawar government" that they have fostered and created. For example, Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto sent messages of greeting to the Consultative Council (shura) of the Afghan armed opposition on the formation of the "interim government of Afghanistan."

As is well known, the "Alliance of Eight," which represents the opposition parties based in Iran, did not take part in the work of the shura. What is more, many commanders of armed formations operating inside Afghanistan have refused to recognize or support this "government"....

In short, there can be no talk of unity among the opposition forces—as, incidentally, the Western mass media have also been forced to admit. THE WASHINGTON POST has published material from its correspondent in Peshawar, in which he discusses the differences between the Pakistani authorities and the Afghan opposition leaders.

"According to reports from representatives of the rebel forces and military specialists," THE WASHINGTON POST correspondent wrote, "the Afghan rebels have postponed their planned offensive on Jalalabad. Mujahidin operating in the Jalalabad region say that the holdup in the plans is partly due to the Pakistani Army's attempt to give command of the offensive to Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of the radical fundamentalist 'Islamic

Party of Afghanistan.' Although the United States has formally declared its neutrality in the struggle for power in Afghanistan, many Afghans and some Western observers are criticizing Washington for tacitly supporting Hikmatyar."

The situation in a number of regions of Afghanistan is still tense. According to BAKHTAR, opposition formations have subjected security posts in Qandahar Province and population centers along the Kabul-Jalalabad road to heavy artillery attacks. Afghan extremists have fired dozens of rocket projectiles at residential districts in the cities of Mehtarlam and Jalalabad. There have been casualties among the civilian population.

Afghan Army units have carried out attacks on areas where intransigent opposition detachments are based—in Herat, Qandahar, Kabul, Helmand, Farah, Laghman, and Nangarhar provinces—destroying some 20 fire positions and several arms depots. In the last 24 hours, 42 rebels have been killed in clashes with government troop subunits.

The Republic of Afghanistan Foreign Ministry has sent three notes to the UN observers mission in Kabul, citing new evidence that Pakistan is acting in violation of the Geneva agreements. One of the documents, in particular, indicates that in camps located on Pakistani territory, American military advisers are training Afghan extremists in combat operation methods and procedures for carrying out terrorist acts.

Algeria's New Pluralist Constitution Viewed

PM0203165189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Portanskiy dispatch: "New Algerian Constitution Adopted"]

[Text] Algiers—As a result of the national referendum held in Algeria 23 February, a new Constitution, the third since its independence, has been adopted.

This event promises, by all accounts, to be a turning point in the history of the country's independent development. After more than 25 years of a single ruling party in Algeria—the National Liberation Front (the word "party" has not been used since the November 1988 congress)—an article has appeared in the text of the new fundamental law that provides for "the right to form associations of a political character." In the opinion of the overwhelming majority of observers inside and outside the country, this article is the pivot of the new Constitution, ushering in the legal possibility of Algeria switching in the future to a multiparty system. Henceforth the right to strike is recognized in both state-sector enterprises and in the private sector. An article on respect for private property has been introduced.

Reference to socialism and Algeria's socialist option, to which a whole chapter was devoted in the previous Constitution, has been completely removed from the text of the new Constitution. Socialism is not, however, rejected as a potential choice here.

As was repeatedly stressed in statements by the country's supreme leadership during the drafting of the text of the new Constitution, the fundamental law must ensure at the present stage the creation in Algeria of a law-governed state with pluralism of opinions and guarantees of human rights and civil liberties. The former Constitution, in the words of President Chadli Bendjedid, was a "mixture of ideology, philosophy, and laws."

The overwhelming majority of Algerians expressed themselves in favor of the renewal of the Constitution. But the number of those who cast their votes against the changes was not small—more than 2.5 million of the almost 13 million who took part in the referendum.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Luanda Round of S. Africa Talks 'Constructive'

PM2702163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Correspondent Vladimir Tyurkin dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Test of Strength"]

[Text] Luanda, 26 Feb—A new surge of diplomatic activity has been recorded in the Angolan capital. Representatives of Angola, Cuba, and the RSA, and also, as observers, delegations of the Soviet Union and the United States, spent 3 days discussing progress in fulfilling the New York agreements on a settlement in southwest Africa.

The joint commission to observe the fulfillment of these agreements, which is to meet monthly in the capitals of Angola, Cuba, and the RSA in turn, conducted its work in the Palace of Congresses 23-25 February.

Running ahead, I will say that the commission's debut—its first regular session in Luanda—passed successfully, although from my observations not many people at all had been prepared on the eve of this meeting to predict such an outcome. There were quite weighty grounds for doubts.

An armed clash on 8 February was, as it were, specially pegged to the session. The prospect of a settlement of the conflict was called in question as the result of an aggressive sortie against the People's Republic of Angola from Namibian territory. I will remind you that, according to an Angolan Defense Ministry report, subunits of RSA mercenaries penetrated 40 km into Angolan territory on that day for the purpose of saving formations of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]—an antigovernment grouping—from defeat

and, on encountering an impressive rebuff from Angolan troops to the south of the population center of Caiundo in Cuando Cubango Province, were forced to head home.

The South Africans refused to acknowledge the aggression. So as not to exacerbate the incident and deadlock the commission's work, the sides, to use diplomatic language, "agreed to differ." At the same time, note was taken of the need to prevent similar incidents in the future. It is noteworthy in this connection that the participants in the meeting discussed possibilities for improving the mechanism of contacts among themselves.

The local press particularly singles out the fact that the RSA delegation was the first in the entire history of independent Angola to visit it "legally." The "landing" of South African diplomats and of a large group of journalists in Luanda is characterized not only as an exotic component of the meeting with regard to the local political landscape, but also as testifying to the changes that have become apparent in the atmosphere of the region and to the desire on all sides to progress toward mutual understanding and trust, without which it is hard to achieve success on the diplomatic front, because this is a most complex and involved conflict. It is encumbered by enmity and mutual suspicion going back many years.

The South African side's promise to use its contacts with UNITA to help resolve the problem of establishing on the Angolan-Namibian border the three missing posts of the Angolan-Cuban-South African mixed military commission should also evidently be regarded as a positive result.

Journalists pointed out that the statement for the press and the news conferences given separately by representatives of the Angolan, Cuban, and RSA delegations smoothed the sharp corners and contained streamlined and abstract formulas. There were neither recriminations nor accusations. On the contrary, everyone characterized the atmosphere of the meeting as businesslike and amicable. It was not disagreements but the search for mutually acceptable solutions that was brought to the fore. It has to be thought that the desire to hold on to the agreements reached with such difficulty lies behind this.

The New York accords have passed the first diplomatic test of their strength. Although, despite the great work done, far from all the problems were resolved, the diligence, the political will to advance, and the constructive spirit of the "Luanda" round were manifested quite definitely. In March Luanda will hand over the venue to Havana.

Deputy Premier Tolstykh Meets Guinea Minister

PM0203105589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received S. Coumbassa, Guinea minister of national education, 1 March.

Opinions were exchanged on the prospects for scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Somalia's Ties With USSR, Ethiopia Viewed

EA2802181689 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 27 Feb 89

[From the "World Events Today" program; Georgiy Sanchin commentary]

[Text] Welcome to a commentary by Georgiy Sanchin on the situation in Somalia and the government's effort to end the problem. The positive changes taking place everywhere and the new wind of political cooperation internationally has also eased the tension in the Horn of Africa. The effort to solve the longstanding differences between the two neighboring countries of Somalia and Ethiopia has commenced and is proceeding smoothly. The Somali Government has also embarked on finding a political solution to internal problems.

The tension prevailing in the north of the country was discussed in depth during the recent session of the Central Committee of the SRPSP [Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party]. Mr Ahmed Mohamed Farrah, Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] deputy prime minister, recently addressed journalists in Cairo where he said that anti-government activities in the north have ended. He added that the government is trying hard to solve the problem that has led to the friction. The government is trying to resettle displaced people and reconstruct the damaged areas.

It is also important to note that Ahmed Mohamed Farrah recently visited Moscow. He was on a special mission representing the Somali president. While in Moscow, Ahmed Mohamed Farrah was received by the first vice president of the USSR, Anatoliy Lukyanov. Farrah delivered to Anatoliy Lukyanov the special message from Mohamed Siad Barre to Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet president. During the talks between Farrah and Lukyanov, the Soviet side pointed out that the Soviet Union is doing everything possible to end the world crisis, including in the Horn of Africa. The two sides saw the great need to end by political means the crisis in the country in the interests of the Somali people.

The question of finding a political solution to the crisis in northern Somalia was not raised in Moscow only by senior Somali officials, but also in Washington where Mohamed Ali Samantar, the SDR prime minister, issued a statement on the government's determination to solve the internal crisis through political dialogue. Statements issued by senior Somali officials raised high hopes for excellent changes that may take place in Somalia. These hopes were further raised by the amnesty extended to some of the political prisoners in the country and the

pledge to add to the Constitution of Somalia the changes that concern the northern areas of the country, particularly the assurance that the northerners will be given their full rights. Currently, there is a need to take concrete steps as far as the northern areas are concerned. The government and the people of the northern areas of Somalia need to solve together the problem facing the country.

East Europe

Hungary's Nemeth Visits Moscow, Meets Leaders

Meetings Previewed

LD0203232689 Budapest MTI in English 2255 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 2 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee, arrived on Thursday evening in Moscow, for a brief official working visit, at the invitation of the CPSU CC and the Soviet Government. Mr Nemeth and his delegation were welcomed at the Vnukovo Airport, by his Soviet counterpart, Nikolay Ryzhkov, prime minister and other officials.

According to preliminary information, the agenda of discussions will include exchanging briefs on domestic political events taking place in the two countries, including possibilities for promotion of bilateral relations. It is the conviction of both parties that through the visit of the Hungarian prime minister, the traditionally good and regular contacts at highest level will continue, it was emphasized by Gennadiy Gerasimov. The spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry added that it is the sign of the intensity of relations, that general Secretary of the HSWP Karoly Grosz is to pay a visit in Moscow in the second half of March, to hold discussions with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Nemeth Welcomed by Ryzhkov

LD0203183589 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth arrived in Moscow on Thursday for a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

The Hungarian visitor was welcomed at the airport by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Nemeth and Ryzhkov will hold talks during the visit, a TASS correspondent was told. It is expected that in discussing bilateral relations special attention will be given to issues of developing economic, scientific and technological ties.

The sides will exchange information about processes taking place in the life of the Soviet Union and Hungary and consider directions in the two states' further interaction in the world arena.

It is believed in Soviet diplomatic circles that despite the high level of interaction already attained by the two countries there are unused reserves which could raise bilateral cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

Received by Gorbachev

LD0303074789 Moscow TASS in English 0745 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev today received Miklos Nemeth, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, chairman of Hungary's Council of Ministers. A conversation between them has begun.

The head of the Hungarian Government arrived in Moscow on Thursday. [Budapest MTI in English at 0800 GMT on 3 March carries a similar report which adds: "Earlier, the Hungarian delegation placed a wreath at the Lenin Mausoleum, and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier."]

Discusses Reforms With Gorbachev

LD0303152789 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, received Miklos Nemeth, a member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) Central Committee and Hungarian head of government, on Friday.

Gorbachev congratulated Nemeth, who was on a working visit here, on his appointment as chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and wished him success in the post.

Briefing Gorbachev on the HSWP's policy at the present junction in the development of Hungarian society, Nemeth said that this policy should be based on a clear-cut and mobilizing action programme which would rally the Communists and all Hungarians to tackle the complex tasks facing the nation.

Emphasis in economic policy is on unfolding reform based on the use of commodity-money and market relations, greater independence for producers, and streamlined centralized management. In keeping with the objectives of a government programme for stabilisation, it proved possible last year to improve some foreign economic activity indicators, but negative trends have not yet been broken.

Each ruling Communist Party fulfills its tasks in accordance with its historic conditions and national values and works out its policy independently, Gorbachev said. This is an incontestable principle.

At the same time there is much common in the parties' activities as they search for ways to tap socialism's potential as fully as possible in the interest of the peoples. It can be said that the main thing for all of us is to move the spotlight on man and ensure conditions for bringing out all his creative abilities.

The USSR is now at a watershed as the old way of life, habits and ideas are fundamentally revised. Economic structures are undergoing radical renewal and a democratic political system is being created to restore power to Soviets, or local governing councils.

The guarantee of perestroyka's success is in the Soviet people's active, vigorous stand.

Both sides during the meeting stressed their interest in continuing to develop fruitful Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in the economy, science and technology, in particular in joint ventures in industry and agriculture.

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Hears Gorbachev on Multiple Parties

LD0303113489 Budapest MTI in English 1012 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 3 (MTI)—As reported, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee, met with Miklos Nemeth, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and prime minister.

Representatives of the press were present at the beginning of the meeting between Mr Gorbachev and Mr Nemeth, and Mr Gorbachev said a few minutes earlier, that the correspondent of the Hungarian daily NEPSZABADSAG asked him his opinion on the emerging pluralism in Hungary, and on the multiparty system. Mr Gorbachev then repeated, in front of Mr Nemeth and the journalists, what he told the correspondent: "We hope that the local relations and conditions are mature for this. The Soviet leadership and the Central Committee, receives the position and decision of its Hungarian friends with respect and great confidence."

"This is very important for us," the Hungarian prime minister noted.

Afterwards, discussions of limited attendance began, and lasted far longer than planned, for one hour and 45 minutes.

In the following, the Hungarian and the Soviet government delegations, led by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Nikolay Ryzhkov, held plenary talks.

Holds Talks With Ryzhkov

LD0303111889 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Talks began in the Kremlin today between Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Miklos Nemeth, member of the Socialist Worker's Party, chairman of Hungary's Council of Ministers. Nemeth is currently in the Soviet Union on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Comittee and the Soviet Government.

Main attention at the talks has been devoted to topical matters concerning socialist construction in the Soviet Union and Hungary, the state of and prospects for development of bilateral cooperation and major world problems.

The entire spectrum of matters pertaining to Soviet-Hungarian economic cooperation is under thorough consideration. The development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries is of versatile nature and is mutually beneficial.

The sides are prepared to make additional efforts to further deepen and refine this cooperation.

Speaks at Ryzhkov-Hosted Luncheon

LD0303143489 Budapest MTI in English 1337 GMT 03 Mar 89

["Miklos Nemeth Toast"—MTI headline]

[Text] Moscow, March 3 (MTI)—My visit fits into the series of traditional meetings between Soviet and Hungarian prime ministers, but I feel that neither the circumstances of the age, nor the subject and spirit of the talks can be termed as traditional, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth stressed.

The history of our days and the everydays of our history are far more characterized by a break with tradition that no longer have merit. The break is painful, as is the birth of something new. We are all witnesses to and, at the same time active participants of, the current vital and history-shaping times. Both you and we Hungarians wish to move away from the impasse, towards establishing a socialist model capable of renewal.

Modernization now requires the comprehensive reform of socialism. This is the demand both of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian people. The most important effort of the Hungarian Government is to organize national consensus for the reform programme that creates the new Hungarian socialist model.

As prime minister, I wish to ensure the capability for action by coordinating the reform forces that are in society, the party and in various political organizations, and by placing them into the focus. The polarization of the forces, dividedness and party organization destined for its own end can only be avoided by organizing a reform centre.

It is my conviction that modernization will only take place by progressing in an organized manner with reform. I see tremendous opportunities on this road to intensify Hungarian-Soviet relations and the alliance. A chance for us to establish, both in Hungary and in the Soviet Union, independent socialist models of characteristically popular-national content, for us to reform the political, economic, cultural and military relations between the socialist countries, and to remove the deadweights that have burdened our relations in the past. It is my conviction that this is what our peoples expect from us, and this expectation obliges us to go ahead with cooperation, reform and renewal.

Almost all member countries of the CMEA strive for renewal and the modernization of their societies and economies. Our countries are linked to each other by a thousand bonds. If we wish to progress together, we have to change together. We all feel, know and experience that the current order of cooperation and the means applied no longer serve the development of the individual member countries, and slow down the establishment of genuine integration. In view of the lack of realistic prices, rates of exchanges and convertible money, we cannot utilize our possibilities. We are struggling with a shortage of goods, we cannot meet the necessities of the people, while we have unexploited intellectual and production capacities. We lay mutual claim to each other's markets, instead of expanding them. The result is that instead of reciprocal advantages, we suffer reciprocal disadvantages. We are therefore firmly convinced that radical renewal is necessary in the mechanism of CMEA cooperation. If we do not do carry out renewal, then the idea of reciprocally advantageous cooperation will lose its authenticity both in our countries and in the world. Rapid practical actions are needed in this interest and not declarations.

We should adapt to the changing world jointly, in alliance with each other. Popular movements and efforts are now intensifying in all parts of the world, which demand independence, democracy, the solution of social problems, and social justice. Our cooperation should precisely express these efforts in a way that we jointly seek solutions for the global economic, nutritive, energetical ecological and demographic problems.

As the Hungarian people have an intense desire for peace, they welcome the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan on the basis of the Geneva agreements. We welcome Soviet readiness to withdraw its military forces from the European socialist countries, in the event of the dissolution of the two military blocks.

In alliance with the Soviet Union, we are ready to participate, with the enforcement of an independent foreign political guideline, in the interest that the strength of the Helsinki process should not decrease, that the common European house be built on secure bases, and that disarmament continue by extending to nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons.

For the most part, we give our attention to the solution of global problems, but we also hold it natural that all peoples are seeking their places in the new world, safeguarding their values, and struggling for survival. From this aspect, we hold it welcome that favourable changes have begun in the situation of the Hungarian minority living in the Soviet Union. Cultural, educational and information opportunities are also expanding, collective interest representation and border-zone cooperation is intensifying. This is a step of demonstrative value which indicates sincere friendship. If this move becomes a lasting tendency, it could mobilize new resources to nurture friendship between our peoples.

We would like the world to be characterized not by ideologies that are set against each other and military blocks that oppose each other, but by a cooperation which serves the universal interests of humanity, and seeks the prosperity of the individual peoples and nations on this basis. A few years ago such a world was considered a utopia. The changes taking place in the Soviet Union and the renewal of the Soviet foreign policy strategy has played a tremendous role that the idea now seems realizable. A genuinely historical chance is opening for humanity to solve the global problems and to make the stationing of troops abroad unnecessary. Even the creation of such a chance was a historical act, and its implementation can genuinely be a venture that results in a turn in the fate of humanity, Mr Nemeth stated.

Seen Off by Ryzhkov; Departs

LD0303143289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] On behalf of the USSR Government, a luncheon was given today in the Kremlin in honor of Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. At the luncheon with the guest were the officials accompanying him. On the Soviet side were Comrades Ryzhkov, Maslyukov, and Talyzin; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and other officials. Speeches were delivered by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Miklos Nemeth.

On the same day, Miklos Nemeth left Moscow for home. At the airport, the head of the Hungarian Government was seen off by Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

CSSR Army Staff Chief Vacek Visits USSR

Received by Yazov

LD0103163789 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister General Dmitriy Yazov on Wednesday received Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, who has arrived in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit.

The meeting was attended by General Mikhail Moiseyev, first deputy minister of defence and chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Visits Kubinka Airbase

LD0203231189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] In the Soviet Union, Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, today visited Kubinka airbase, where he saw various types of Soviet combat aircraft.

Col Gen Vacek also visited the Military Academy of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, where he was informed about the organization of study, and met officers of our Army who are studying at the academy.

CSSR's Jakes Interviewed on Disarmament

LD2502104889 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Prague February 24 TASS—We view Czechoslovakia's initiative for creating zones of confidence, cooperation and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact of Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries as part of the overall European process. The initiative based on this process has the purpose of becoming an instrument of intensification and upgrading of European Cooperation. Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, said this in an interview to THE DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST magazine.

Jakes noted that the exchange of opinions during official government and diplomatic talks, just as at numerous meetings of representatives of political parties and public organisations, showed on the whole a favourable attitude to the Czechoslovak proposal. Proceeding from this, we started to work out specific suggestions of the ways in which the main ideas of the Czechoslovak initiative can be implemented in various areas—political, military, economic, ecological and humanitarian, Jakes said. At present we discuss them with NATO countries and some neutral countries situated along the line of contact of the two military alliances and showing interest in the participation in creating zones of confidence. Our initiative has an absolutely open character and we hope to enrich it with the opinions and experience of partners, he said.

Being realistic, we do not set the task of getting ahead of the talks to be held on the mandate of the Vienna meeting as regards fundamental measures of military character. But we separate what can be achieved by the heightening of confidence in the military area on a bilateral basis as early as today from what is in the competence of both military-political alliances, Jakes said.

The "thinning out" of the zone that we propose, that is the removal of the most dangerous kinds of offensive armaments, such as, for instance, tanks, cannons and mortars, should certainly be pressed for in accordance with the principle of mutual removal of imbalance and asymmetry in separate kinds of conventional arms, he said. It is in our interests that the decisions to be reached in the context of European problems from the Atlantic to the Urals be implemented most intensively precisely along the line of contact of Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, that is precisely in the area where the danger of an outbreak of conflict, even if an accidental one, is the greatest, Jakes said.

CSSR's Achievements, 'Difficulties' Viewed

LD2502134889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Czechoslovakia is preparing to celebrate the anniversary of the February victory of the working people over reaction. Correspondent Sergey Andreyev reports. [video shows Andreyev standing in the Old Square in Prague, talking into microphone] The February festive posters, which can be seen everywhere in Prague, are ready. There is only one word: February; or two words: February bequest. This bequest, if one takes into consideration the main thing, can be formulated as follows: the working people should be vigilant.

The imperative of February is also topical today, when the large caliber weaponry of the numerous Western propagandist dreadnoughts are aimed at Czechoslovakia. When one listens to their voices, one is not at all clear how it is that this country still exists. Meanwhile, the country is alone. It feeds itself, and not badly; it clothes itself, and in a quite fitting way; it helps its elders and loans large sums to each newlywed couple; it makes supplementary payments to parents for each child. This, too, is the continuation of February, which laid foundation to the socialist transformations in Czechoslovakia.

The country has its difficulties, too, particularly in the development of the economy. There also exist ecological problems. They are openly discussed, analyzed, and the

ways of tackling them are sought. [video shows Prague main streets, pedestrians, well-stocked butchers' shop window, a wedding at the Old Town Hall, shop windows, children]

Even so, there are people who, preferring to listen to voices from the West, see nothing that is good. There are people who aspire to destablize the situation in the country by all possible ways, including threats, and even terror. We reported about the bomb explosion in northern Bohemia. There was one explosion, but there were dozens of telephone calls claiming that bombs were planted in various public places. Traffic was halted, people were evacuated. Nothing was found, but tension and indignation remained.

This is one of those who made a telephone call. He is being (?interrogated). [video shows two men listening to a cassette recording] He is himself sorry now. He says that he did a silly thing, that he wanted to test the vigilance of the security corps. [video continues showing the two men]

What are these people afraid of? Why are they so nervous? What are they making a fuss about, and why are they even taking risks? They do not like the fact that the Communist Party is the leader of restructuring and democratization. And this means that socialism will continue to be strengthened. The struggle is not finished. The political experience of February, which is tested by the years, remains the weapon of the people. [video shows more shots of Prague center]

Jaruzelski Rejects Deviation From Socialist Road

PM0103195589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Actions in the Name of Socialism; W. Jaruzelski's Speech"]

[Text] Warsaw, 28 February—The alliances, of which Poland is a participant, friendly relations with socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union, and brotherhood in arms with its army are values that have been confirmed by history, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and chairman of Polish State Council, stated. He spoke on Monday in the city of Bydgoszcz at the report party conference of the Pomeranian Military District. Today in the period of renewal and restructuring, these values are acquiring a deeper content and a new significance. We must and we will cherish them, the speaker stressed.

Dwelling on the processes of democratization and the expansion of pluralism which have been taking place in Poland since the PZPR Central Committee's 10th Plenum, W. Jaruzelski noted that the roundtable talks which had begun are a step in the right direction. They are not a panacea but, undoubtedly, a chance to ensure lasting social tranquillity, citizens' broad participation in the reform process, and the attainment of concord in conditions of differences and heterogeneity. This is a great historic experiment, but at the same time a very difficult task.

A new leaf should be turned over. And here the question arises of a guarantee that we shall not be suddenly jolted off the road of socialism. This is ruled out. Let anyone who has such intentions put them right out of his mind. Let the fact that I am stating this precisely here and now be a warning, W. Jaruzelski stressed. It is not a defense of old positions. On the contrary, this is a defense of our formation's new stage of development. These are actions on behalf of the socialism of the future.

Poland is now going through an exceptionally important period. It is a question of whether it will succeed in crossing this difficult threshold, and implementing the radical course of reforms. The present "festival" of strikes and protests are exacerbating the dangerous situation. In this situation we cannot diverge from the road of reforms; an unambiguous and decisive stance as regards this threat is the criterion of the sense of responsibility of all political and public forces. There is yet another danger: attempts to create anarchy in social life, diverse excesses which, regardless of their participants' intentions, objectively constitute subversion as regards the "round table." There is a certain limit to tolerance and understanding as regards the emotions being displayed, in particular, by young people, and it cannot be overstepped. National education and internal affairs ministers must draw the appropriate conclusions.

Rakowski Addresses Trade Union Accord Council

PM2702103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "M. Rakowski's Speech"]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Feb—Poland is living through a very difficult period of its history. The essence of this period consists in the attempt to create a new political and economic system on the basis of the socialist system, M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, has stated. He was speaking at a session of the national trade union accord council.

The "roundtable" as an attempt to reach agreement between different forces in the country and consequently to incorporate the opposition into this new social system is an objective necessity, the Polish head of government said. Unless this is done now, sooner or later Poland will enter an era of profound complications.

It is essential, however, to approach critically certain phenomena at or around the "roundtable," M. Rakowski continued. Is there a danger that its work will end in fiasco? I am convinced that a certain degree of agreement will be reached during the talks. That does not mean that the country will enter a period of idyll. The

desire to achieve conditions which in the long term could lead to the replacement of the system has not yet been dampened in the ranks of the opposition. After all, many members of the opposition do not want even to pronounce the word "socialism." The opposition wants to mark its presence in Poland and to penetrate deep into people's thoughts with its concepts. Its representatives are trying to create the impression that only their approach will lead to changes. Yet it is the PZPR which for many years has been reforming the sociopolitical system and we will not allow this obvious truth to be slurred over by that group of intellectuals which exerts decisive influence on the nature of "Solidarity."

The opening up of the path toward political and trade union pluralism was a historical necessity. The "roundtable" talks are necessary, but on one condition: That they are based on realism. A wave of demands to increase wages is sweeping over Poland now. Another week or two of preparing and holding strikes and it will all come to nothing. There will be an end to the dream of reform, of the possibility of controlling economic processes. Our plans for gradually reviving the economy will be cancelled out by strikes and the attendant atmosphere of social upheavals.

Touching on relations between the government and the national trade union accord council, M. Rakowski confirmed the desire that the trade unions represented in the national trade union accord council should be the reliable support of the government, which sees in them a genuine ally.

Nikonov Receives Romanian Ambassador 27 Feb
LD2702224289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Nikonov today received [Ion] Bucur, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the USSR, at the latter's request. The conversation passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere. They discussed some questions of Soviet-Romanian agroindustrial cooperation.

West Europe

Spanish Foreign Minister Arrives in Moscow 2 Mar

Greeted by Shevardnadze
LD0203154289 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text) Moscow March 2 TASS—Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez arrived in Moscow on Thursday on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government. At the airport he was welcomed by Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and other officials.

Fernandez-Ordonez Agenda Detailed
LD0203175589 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, is now in Moscow. He was met on arrival by his Soviet opposite number, Eduard Shevardnadze. Here is a report on this from Luis Serrano in Moscow:

[Serrano] The Spanish Foreign Minister arrived in Moscow just after 1815 this evening local time—2 hours earlier in Spain—and Fernandez-Ordonez and Shevardnadze agreed on the three-fold aspect of ths official visit: bilateral relations, international relations, and community relations. Both foreign ministers declined to comment on whether or not they would be discussing the matter of the British writer Salman Rushdie. The USSR has offered to mediate between Iran and the EC and expects an answer from Fernandez-Ordonez. It is a question of which emotions have to be calmed down, said Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

The USSR hopes to sound out the Spanish foreign minister, in his capacity as EEC president, on the formula which the EC will use to initiate trade negotiations with Moscow. Fernandez-Ordonez did not wish to reveal the contents of the message from Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez to Gorbachev, although diplomatic sources have said that it reiterates the invitation to him to visit Spain and expresses to him the desire that perestroyka will contribute to surmounting East-West divisions.

The two delegations are now meeting in the first session of talks and an official dinner will take place in a few minutes.

Reasons for Fernandez-Ordonez Visit
LD0203220789 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1900 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Since 1800 this evening Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez has been in Moscow. The foreign Minister arrived in the Soviet capital with a personal message from Felipe Gonzalez to the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, and will be discussing East-West relations in his capacity as president of the Council of Ministers of the 12. A report on this from Luis Serrano in the Soviet capital:

[Serrano] The Middle East, Central America, and—according to Eduard Shevardnadze—the historic talks on conventional disarmament in Europe are the main subjects of the official visit by Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez to Moscow. While the Soviet Union is stressing and trying to take advantage of Fernandez-Ordonez' position as EEC President, Spanish diplomats are stressing the bilateral nature of the meeting.

Fernandez-Ordonez will sign an agreement with the USSR on pensions and medical treatment, and tomorrow he will be received by Gorbachev. On the chances of a visit to Spain by the Soviet leader, Spanish Radio put a question in this connection to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who replied: That question wil be discussed at a meeting between Fernandez-Ordonez and Gorbachev. At these meetings Moscow wants to obtain a number of things: An exchange of views on the Middle East, where both Shevardnadze and Fernandez-Ordonez have recently paid visits—the Soviet foreign minister today praised the tour by the EEC troika of various countries in the region; a first-hand view on the paths toward solving the tension in Central America; perhaps an unofficial commitment to push through during the spanish 6 month term [as EEC president] the community mandate for negotiations leading to trade agreement between the USSR and the 12; and the promotion of bilateral dialogue with a NATO country on the forthcoming negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons.

If Moscow wishes to broach these questions, then Spain wishes to just as much, judging by the toast which has just been delivered by the Spanish foreign minister at the official dinner, which has just ended.

Gorbachev Receives Visitor

LD0303100789 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev received Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, who is here on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government, on Friday.

They discussed Soviet-Spanish relations and some pressing international issues.

Shevardnadze Hosts Dinner

PM0303102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Mutual Understanding And Cooperation"]

[Text] Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez arrived in Moscow 2 March on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

He was met at the airport by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and other officials.

The welcoming party included Jose Cuenca, Spanish ambassador to the USSR.

Talks began 2 March between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Spanish Foreign Minister F. Fernandez-Ordonez.

E.A. Shevardnadze pointed out the special significance of the visit by F. Fernandez-Ordonez, who has come to Moscow not only in his capacity as Spain's foreign minister but also as president of the EEC. This dual role also determines the dual purpose of the Soviet-Spanish talks, namely to take stock of bilateral ties and continue political contacts between the USSR and the EEC.

The ministers expressed profound satisfaction that Soviet-Spanish relations are on the upswing and are being enriched with new substance. They advocated the further intensification of bilateral ties and the deepening of political dialogue. They touched on certain topical questions of international life.

E.A. Shevardnadze held a dinner in honor of F. Fernandez-Ordonez. The ministers exchanged speeches.

Addressing the gathering, the Soviet minister pointed out that his Spanish colleague's visit marked the development of USSR-Spanish dialogue to a new higher level. As it is taking place on the threshold of events that are important for the future of Europe and the world, it undoubtedly helps to develop these events in the right direction. Finally, it gives us an opportunity to check our national guidelines at the current stage of this route common to all mankind.

Despite all the differences in our countries' sociopolitical systems, state structures, and economic organization, I do not think that we foresee any great incompatibilities in these guidelines.

Our frequent contacts, conversations, and exchanges of opinions and ideas entitle me to make this claim. In my dealings with you, I am increasingly convinced of the consonance of our countries' foreign policy aspirations.

In this connection I cannot help remembering my visit to Madrid in January 1988. Many of the problems that were then at the center of attention have already been resolved today or are close to a solution.

We talked about the significance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles for the entire historic process of disarmament. This treaty is being implemented intensively today under conditions of unprecedentedly broad, all-embracing, strict verification.

We talked about the obstacles to the conclusion of a convention on the complete banning and destruction of chemical weapons. Many of these obstacles have been removed today.

We discussed the need to conclude the Geneva agreements on a political settlement around Afghanistan as quickly as possible. Two months later they were signed, and there is not a single Soviet soldier left in that country today.

The successful completion of the Vienna meeting was a matter of great concern for us at that time. Today now that the "Vienna accord" has become a fact of Europe's contemporary biography, only 4 days separate us from a long-awaited event that I am convinced is destined to be an historic one—the opening of talks in Vienna on confidence-building measures and the reduction of troops and conventional arms on the European continent.

Remembering your words on this subject, Mr Minister, that a reduction in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe to the lowest possible levels would remove the misgivings linked with nuclear disarmament, I would like to stress the following point: The plan that M.S. Gorbachev expounded at the United Nations 7 December last year for the Soviet Union to unilaterally reduce its troops and arms created an exceptionally favorable climate for future talks.

The stakes at the Vienna talks are exceptionally high. Will we be able to rise above the calculations of group egoism? Will we be able to avoid the danger of the age-old quagmire of discussions about figures and keep in mind the final objective, namely to achieve the lowest possible levels of armed forces—sufficient only for defense rather than for offense? For the lower these levels are, the more scope there will be for reliable peace.

A great deal, if not all, now depends on political will. The negotiating mechanism in Vienna will be set in motion by the foreign ministers. But in time more substantial capacities will have to be engaged in order to ensure effective progress. In our opinion, it is these considerations that are at the root of the debate now unfolding about the desirability of holding an all-European summit meeting of the signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act.

Mr Minister, today you represent Spain and also the EEC, as its president. This gives us a good opportunity to continue and deepen the contacts between the Soviet Union and the EEC that were initiated recently. The range of our political dialogue with the 12 West European countries is extremely broad. First, we are overcoming together the alienation between East and West Europe as part of the shaping of a European community, which is impossible without the various parts of the continent adapting to one another.

This cooperation can be seen in the Soviet Union not only in the economic sphere; the beginning of broad political dialogue is equally important.

It has now been 500 years—since the time of Christopher Columbus—since Europe ceased to think of itself in isolation from the wider world. Accordingly, our present dialogue cannot revolve around European problems alone. With every year and month that passes we are increasingly aware that Europeans cannot remain aloof from the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, be it in the Near East or in Central America.

I would single out the following thought from the vast gamut of impressions that I gleaned from my recent tour around the countries of the Near and Middle East: Western Europe has also stimulated the emergent movement there toward a quest for solutions. You recently visited the Near East as part of a group of representatives of three European Community countries. We welcome your efforts and are delighted that we hold positions that are close and even parallel to yours.

During my trip I was often asked the following questions: "What next? How do you intend to act in the future?" While expounding our plan, I also talked about our contacts with you and with the EEC and about the coordination of our actions aimed at preparing an international conference on the Near East.

I would like to believe that this interaction—both within the Security Council and within our cooperation with the EEC and the United States and in the course of regular contacts with all the countries of the region—will lead to the convocation of the conference.

During my preparations for our present meeting, I remembered Miguel Unamuno's splendid idea. More than 50 years ago he predicted that Europe "must surely emerge together out of rivalry and the clash of differences into a harmonious symphony where nations, religions, languages, and countries contribute their own notes...." I am glad that our two countries have embarked on effective cooperation to create such a symphony.

In his speech F. Fernandez-Ordonez stressed that his visit is taking place at an important moment for both Spain and the Soviet Union and the international atmosphere as a whole.

Spain is acting as president of the EEC for the first time; the EEC states have set themselves the target of taking an important step in 1992 along the path of further integration. At the same time we are well aware that our continent will not be fully united until the harmonious integration of all European states becomes a reality.

The present moment is also extremely important for the Soviet Union, which is making unprecedented efforts to renew the country. I believe that the path of restructuring and glasnost advocated by the Soviet Union will make it possible to ensure a higher standard of living and a fuller life for Soviet citizens. In our opinion, these reforms will also help develop international dialogue. Spain supports the Soviet Government's efforts and believes that the process initiated in 1985 will develop and help resolve the main European problem—to overcome the division in the continent.

This moment is of equally crucial significance for the international community. We are all striving to create a new climate that will impart particular dynamism to the struggle for peace and make it possible to find ways to

settle some major regional conflicts of long standing. In this connection I would like to point out M.S. Gorbachev's important contribution to the task of creating favorable conditions for the development of international cooperation.

The positive completion of the Vienna CSCE meeting, where a splendid document was adopted after more than 2 years' work enabling us to look at Europe's future with optimism, is also the result of this new climate.

The minister then went on to point out that the decisions reflected in the Vienna document enable us to advance confidently toward mutual understanding and rapprochement on the continent. The mutual recognition of CEMA and the EEC last June, which has enabled us to establish diplomatic relations between virtually all the CEMA countries and the EEC and begin the process of negotiations to conclude trade agreements, was an important step on this path. We hope that talks on concluding EEC-USSR agreements on trade and cooperation will begin in the near future.

While undertaking all these multilateral initiatives, we must not forget the need to maintain and step up intensive bilateral relations between European countries. In this connection, it has proved possible for our two countries, which established diplomatic relations 12 years ago, to create good channels in this time for political mutual understanding. The Soviet Union has been visited by their royal majesties and the president of the Spanish Government. You, Mr Minister, have visited Spain. There have been many other political, parliamentary, and economic contacts, which have made it possible for a close network of political ties to be established between our two countries, and we do not doubt that they will be extended by your state visits to Spain.

However, these political ties have not as yet been supplemented, in our opinion, with equally full cooperation in other spheres. Despite substantial progress, the volume of trade exchange between our countries is still inadequate. Our cultural ties, which have such firm traditions, could also be boosted to a new level. We intend to study the question of a USSR-Spanish consular convention, and the treaty on social security that we will sign tomorrow is, in my view, our common success.

In conclusion F. Fernandez-Ordonez expressed the hope that his visit to the Soviet Union would lend impetus to the efforts being made not only in the interests of the two countries but also for the sake of mutual understanding and cooperation in Europe as a whole.

Political & Social

Razumovskiy Comments on Election Campaign

LD0303132489 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—The recent review-and-election meetings in the Soviet Communist Party have done much to seriously reinvigorate the party and advance overall political reform, Central Committee Secretary Georgiy Razumovskiy says.

Speaking in an interview with the journal KOMMUNIST, he said that pains were taken to ensure freedom of debate at the meetings.

Progress reports and draft resolutions were, for the most part, prepared with the involvement of many activists in elected positions on the basis of critical analysis and with regard for the opinion of primary organisations.

The prepared drafts or their main points were made known to practically the entire population of a particular area. The review-and-election meetings, many of them attended by non-party people, were addressed by almost 12 million people who made 5.2 million specific criticisms and proposals for improvement, according to Razumovskiy.

Yet many meetings were held in the old fashion as the force of inertia and the habit to stick to sterotypes proved strong, despite visibly increased standards applied to party work and party members and much higher levels of frankness and democracy, he added.

Not infrequently, speakers weren't self-critical enough, while their criticisms of elected party officials were too vague, Razumovskiy said.

Summing up the review-end-election campaign in figures, Razumovskiy said that 1.7 million meetings were held between last September and January and that more than 160,600 party secretaries in primary organisations were replaced.

At borough, city and district levels 62 per cent of the membership of elected party bodies was replaced, while with higher regional committees this figure was 58.6 per cent.

Active grassroots participation in nominating candidates for elected bodies as well as contested elections, Razumovskiy said, make it possible to identify influential party members who are actively championing perestroyka.

The reorganisation of the party apparatus has been effectively completed, the Central Committee secretary announced.

The plan was to cut the staff of the Central Committee by 40 per cent, those of lower-level regional committees by 30 per cent and city committees by 10 to 20 per cent.

The number of secretary posts on city-to-constitutent republic central committees was reduced. Some party workers whose positions were eliminated were offered jobs at lower-level party organisations or local government and economic agencies, while others retired.

It was not found expedient to trim the staffs of town and borough party committees because they are already small and bear the brunt of work directly with the local party organisations.

Candidate Deputies Continue Election Campaigns

Ligachev Addresses Omsk Oblast

PM0303103889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Man Is at the Center of Contemporary Agrarian Policy"]

[Text] Omsk, 2 Mar—The enhancement of Soviet people's well-being and the improvement of their life constitute the core of the CPSU's entire socioeconomic policy. The CPSU Central Committee election address to the party and the Soviet people names as a priority task the solution of the most acute problem—the food problem. Ways of implementing this task were thoroughly discussed at the meeting between Ye.K. Ligachev, candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and representatives of Omsk Oblast's party and social organizations.

The meeting was opened by CPSU Obkom First Secretary Ye.D. Pokhitaylo.

The speakers at the meeting—Yu.A. Yurchagin, first secretary of Bolsheukovskiy CPSU Raykom; V.I. Nagibin, lathe operator at the "Agregat" Science and Production Association; A.N. Zhoglikov, director of the "Bolnovskiy" Sovkhoz in Poltavskiy Rayon; O.S. Gubanov, chairman of Moskalenskiy Rayispolkom; and N.M. Kolychev, rector of the Veterinary Institute—spoke of the need to more vigorously solve the countryside's problems. It was stressed that only the transformation of rural working people into total masters on the land and the social reorganization of the countryside will make it possible to more rapidly satisfy the needs of the country's population for food products.

The meeting was addressed by Ye.K. Ligachev. He noted that the present election campaign is being held with great activeness and interest on the part of the working masses. The policy of restructuring is certainly a factor here. At the same time it is also a condition of the success of the transformations that have been begun in society.

The Communist Party is entering the elections with the political platform formulated in the Central Committee address to the party and Soviet people. The party thereby emphasized the tremendous importance of the upcoming elections for the fate of the country and of socialism. By this act it cogently shows that the CPSU, in accordance with the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, really acts as society's political vanguard and leading force in conditions of socialist pluralism.

As a candidate for USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, as someone who firmly espouses the stances of the Central Committee address, and as a Communist I will do everything necessary to ensure that our people have a better life and the country confidently moves forward along the path of progress. Allow me to cordially thank you, the participants in this meeting, and the party organizations which nominated me as candidate for people's deputy, in particular those of Moscow and Moscow Oblast, Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, the Mary and Tatar ASSR's, Krasnodar and Krasnoyarsk Krays, and Vologda, Penza, Voronezh, Rostov, Ryazan, Tomsk, Tula, and other oblasts.

Expressing the interests of the whole people, in its address the party calls for the consolidation and unification of the forces emerging in society and of all social groups. As it enters the elections it respects the right of every social organization and the nonparty masses to uphold their own opinion and defend their own interests. Under a one-party system free dialogue and the open comparison of different viewpoints are extremely necessary in order to ensure that power is the people's, democratic, and based on law.

But here it is important that the diversity of opinions, proposals, and plans should serve the elaboration and practical implementation of correct decisions and ultimately the unification of society in the name of the renewal and consolidation of socialism. At the same time we quite definitely say a firm "no" to political careerism and adventurism. Individuals or a group of individuals cannot be allowed to exploit democracy and glasnost in their own egotistical interests, and sometimes for anti-Soviet purposes too.

The CPSU Central Committee address voices the party's call for creative work and for a reorientation of the economy toward people. Moreover, the party's election program is imbued with realism and includes only what is possible. There is no wishful thinking here. Everything that it is planned to do will require great effort on the part of society. Many candidate deputies are acting in a similar way in setting forth their programs, mindful of the full extent of their responsibility for implementing them. But something else is also encountered. Certain persons, gripped by ambition, are speculating on the existing difficulties and frivolously making unfounded promises.

The upcoming elections are a political test for the entire party and all its organizations. We are perfectly well aware that the CPSU did not receive from the people the right to be society's leading force because of sweeping promises or in perpetuity. On every occasion this great trust felt by the people, won through the selfless work of many generations of Communists, must be vindicated and affirmed by specific actions. The CPSU is confidently entering the elections with the scientifically substantiated theory and policy of restructuring, which has met with the broadest popular support.

The Communist Party's election program notes that the very idea of restructuring stemmed from and was dictated by concern for man, Ye.K. Ligachev continued. The solution of the food problem is certainly the priority here. There is a shortage of the most valuable protein products—meat and dairy products—and also of vegetables and fruits. Our people deserve to have tasty and varied food on the dinner table of every family. That is no luxury, so to speak. It affects people's health and capacity for work and society's social stability.

Why are the measures that are being taken not yielding the anticipated return? Why is the country not providing itself with sufficient essential products from its own production? Those questions have also been pointedly asked at election meetings.

There are many reasons. First of all, because of subjective and objective factors, our agrarian policy has not always been marked by a comprehensive approach. The country's agro-industrial complex has been by no means harmonious, its main elements are not balanced and coordinated in a single food production line. The agro-industrial complex is literally in the grip of disproportions. This leads to considerable losses, the immobilization of sizable resources, and a reduction in the efficiency of food production.

For a long time due attention was not paid to important sectors of the agro-industrial complex. For instance, processing industry was in a neglected state. Therefore the growth in production of meat, milk, and other agricultural raw materials in recent years had no substantial impact on increasing the output of finished food goods, expanding their range, and improving their quality.

Of course, the country did not always have the requisite material, technical, and financial resources. But it must be bluntly admitted that improvident and unthrifty use was sometimes made of even those that we did have.

That is not all. Our agrarian policy took insufficient account of the need to change production relations in the countryside in a timely way and bring them into line with the development of productive forces. It is a question of the need to really ensure the working person's dominant position in the production process, the need for him to be the master of both the means of production

and the results of his labor. It is a matter of combining the working person's personal interests with the interests of the labor collective and the whole of society.

Of course, the profound lag of the countryside's social development behind the needs of agricultural working people is one of the most fundamental factors curbing the growth of food production.

The increased acuteness of the food supply situation is to some extent attributable to the high growth rate of the population's money income and to people's growing effective demand. In 1988 the population's money income was 150 percent up on 1970, but gross agricultural output was only 31 percent up. Over this period the country's population increased by 18 percent.

In short, despite the measures that are being taken, food remains the most urgent question. This is why the CPSU Central Committee decided to discuss problems of agrarian policy at a Central Committee plenum. Active preparations for it are now under way.

It is quite obvious, Ye.K. Ligachev continued, that agrarian policy at the contemporary stage must be marked by a comprehensive approach toward solving the problem and by the unity of organizational, economic, material and technical, and sociopolitical measures. The decisive, priority spheres must be singled out.

Paramount attention is being paid to accelerating the countryside's social development and retaining people there. This is the key question for us. We must ensure that working and living conditions in the countryside are no worse than in the cities, and then rural residents will not leave for the cities. The solution of social questions in the countryside cannot be postponed, otherwise it will be too late, since the population exodus from the countryside is continuing, especially in the RSFSR and the Ukraine.

It is necessary to carry out a profound improvement of production relations in all links of the agro-industrial complex. This must be in the direction of assimilating economic methods of management, really ensuring farms' economic independence and material responsibility for the end results of labor, disseminating various organizational forms of production based on economic accountability, the contract and leasing relations, and cooperatives, and also democratizing management at all levels.

In addition, the agro-industrial complex needs a serious strengthening of its material and technical basis and the provision of highly productive, reliable machines for the countryside. Agriculture's level of capital investment [fondoobespechennost] is only two-thirds of the normative. It is important to actively bolster the measures now being implemented in the state to improve the efficiency of the agro-industrial complex and solve the food problem with the full might of cities and industrial centers.

The recent seminar-conference of party gorkom first secretaries and chairman of gorispolkoms from the country's oblast, kray, and republican centers in Kharkov and Belgorod provided further persuasive evidence of this.

It is not a question of sending more people from the city to procure feed or gather in the harvest. Not at all. The links between the city and countryside, between the working class and peasantry must be filled with new content and modern approaches. I am talking about mutually advantageous participation by urban and rural collectives, based on economic accountability, in improving food supplies.

A very important task is to strengthen equal-value exchanges between the city and the countryside and close the existing discrepancy between prices for industrial and agricultural output.

As you know, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo instructed defense sectors and the machine building complex to create a modern food industry in the country. Tens of millions of rubles were appropriated. And work began. Industrial collectives, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed, must take a responsible approach to the development and production of our own equipment for the food industry, guided by world standards, not some kind of average.

It is extremely important, he continued, for industrial enterprises to have subsidiary farms. In Omsk Oblast, for instance, there are 175 subsidiary farms, 23 of them large. Last year the "Omsknefteorgsintez" Association sold 39 kg of meat per worker, and the "Omskshina" Association 31 kg of milk per worker. These are good examples. But the people of Omsk have great reserves. Many enterprises still do not have subsidiary farms.

One-fourth of the total volume of agricultural output in the country is provided by personal subsidiary plots. We should be bolder in developing individual plots, integrating them with kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and providing young livestock, feed, and machines to those who so wish. It is necessary to organize components at kolkhozes and sovkhozes to provide services to personal plots. It is important to remove all restrictions on personal plots in the countryside, provide their owners with sufficient land, and organize the purchase of surplus produce everywhere.

It is well known that people in Omsk Oblast organize personal farming skillfully. For every 100 rural households there are 75 cows and approximately the same number of hogs. Last year the oblast's consumer cooperative system purchased 23,000 tonnes of meat and 20,000 tonnes of milk from the population. That is a substantial addition to the Omsk people's food stocks.

Large-scale agricultural production has been created in the oblast, and is developing constantly. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes supply a large quantity of output to other regions of the country. Together with subsidiary farms, they supply the oblast's population with the necessary food products. Now the rural and urban inhabitants have set about tackling fruit and vegetable growing—also a very necessary and useful task.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary expressed the wish that the people of Omsk will continue to act energetically and enthusiastically in developing the food complex. The main thing is substantially to boost the yield from grain and feed crops and potatoes, sharply to increase the milk productivity and delivery weight of livestock, and to reduce expenditure on the production of basic food products. There are great reserves here. There are other questions too. It is not clear, for instance, why the oblast is still importing some 20,000 tonnes of confectionery and some 70 million cans of fruit and vegetables.

The speech devoted considerable space to ecological issues. The need for wide ecological education was stressed. Not for nothing does the old proverb say: "When the guest leaves, only garbage is left behind, but when the owner leaves, there are flowers and a garden." Every one of us should think about nature, and not only cherish it, but do everything possible to protect it.

Analyzing the processes of restructuring of all components of our life, Ye.K. Ligachev drew attention to the fact that the struggle against bureaucracy must not slacken off. Today, in the period of restructuring, he noted, much is being done to overcome this evil. It is well known that the 19th party conference adopted a special resolution "On the Struggle Against Bureaucracy." But meetings with working people and letters to the CPSU Central Committee and newspaper editorial offices show that in the process of resolution of sometimes elementary problems, all kinds of red tape, pettifoggery, and outright formalism still persist. There are many cases where the individual still feels impotent in the face of the bureaucrat's indifference or even tyranny.

There is no denying that bureaucracy is condemned everywhere as a repulsive phenomenon. That is correct. But one has the impression that in some places bureaucrats have adapted even to this drastic situation. The solution lies in moving on from general condemnation toward concrete action. For instance, the administrative apparatus is being reduced substantially (there has already been a reduction of some 600,000 people centrally and locally). But this process is going very slowly at enterprises and associations, where there are more administrators than anywhere else.

Here a positive role should be played by the development of economic accountability relations and autonomy and responsibility on the part of enterprises, and by the widening of industrial democracy.

At the same time, in combating bureaucracy, it is very important to protect and strengthen the prestige of the enterprising, bold leader. It is extremely important for leadership workers to be straightforward, accessible to people, and responsive to their requests and needs. The standard of monitoring of the actual fulfillment of the decisions adopted should be improved substantially—that is a continuing task.

In conclusion the CPSU Central Committee secretary said:

An active and—most important—principled position should be adopted in the course of restructuring by Communists, party organizations, and everyone who values the true aims of renewal. The Communist—the party's ideological warrior—cannot listen calmly to a demagogue or keep quiet at a rally. As the workers noted recently at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, everyone should realize that the time has come for practical action. It is intolerable for some people only to argue and propose, while others get on with the job. Constructive work is everyone's lot. That is the demand of restructuring.

Ye.K. Ligachev then answered numerous questions from participants in the meeting.

During his stay in Omsk Oblast 26 February through 1 March, Ye.K. Ligachev visited a number of industrial and agricultural enterprises and had numerous meetings and talks with working people, who showed great interest in the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum and the resolution of the food problem.

There was a detailed study of the work of the "Selivanovskiy" Sovkhoz in Moskalenskiy Rayon. This is a large farm, but its profitability is low. There are many such in Siberia, and indeed in the country as a whole. What are their prospects?

The sovkhoz leaders and specialists explained how their collective is setting about the introduction of full intrafarm economic accountability and the collective contract. In their opinion this will enable them to increase the profitability of production and resolve many social questions. Supporting these intentions, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed: Today's agrarian policy is based on the diversity of forms of economic management and administration, democratization, and cooperation. It is important to take account of people's wishes and the labor collective's wishes and skillfully to combine personal and public interests.

The sovkhoz must set about the construction of well-appointed housing, roads, and social facilities. This is the only way to keep people on the farm and substantially boost its economy.

In the village of Yekaterinovka, the central farmstead on the Dmitrov Kolkhoz in the same rayon, Ye.K. Ligachev inspected new construction work and visited the home of kolkhoz member Ya.Ya. Gizbrekht, built out of his personal resources and with the kolkhoz's active assistance. His extensive household plot was inspected. Some 200 homesteads have been built in Yekaterinovka in recent years. Questions of the further development of personal plots were examined at a conference at the oblispolkom. The experience accumulated in Omsk Oblast merits wide dissemination.

During a visit to food stores and markets and processing enterprises, attention was drawn to the question of improving the activity of the consumer cooperative system.

In the countryside it could and should play a major role in the resolution of the food problem through improvements in the purchase and processing of agricultural produce and trade in it. An important role should be played here by small procurement centers and processing shops, which should exist not only in rayon centers, but in large villages too. Many enterprises in the oblast are already giving the necessary assistance in this respect to consumer cooperatives, and also to kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the food and processing industry.

During a visit to a defense plant, there was a discussion of ways of accelerating the production of new equipment for food industry enterprises.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary met with scientists, teachers, and specialists from the Siberian Scientific Research Institute of Agriculture and the veterinary and agricultural institutes. In the course of a lively exchange of opinions, questions of the integration of academy, sector, and VUZ science, the strengthening of its links with production, and the improvement of the training of cadres capable of doing an intelligent job were touched on.

Ye.K. Ligachev talked with CPSU obkom bureau members and department chiefs and first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms on progress in restructuring the work of the party apparatus, its mastery of political methods of leadership and the oblast's economic and social development, and the preparations for the forthcoming elections.

A meeting took place with the oblast's writers and journalists.

In the oblast center, flowers were laid at the V.I. Lenin monument.

Ye.K. Ligachev was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by Ye.D. Pokhitaylo, first secretary of the CPSU obkom, and A.P. Leontyev, chairman of the oblispolkom.

More on Ligachev Speech

LD0203224989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast—Ligachev remarks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] There has been an election meeting between Comrade Ligachev and the representative of party and public organizations of Omsk Oblast.

[Correspondent Ye.Sinitsyn] Omsk—it seems like a winter island against the background of the above-zero temperatures in Central Russia. The meeting took place in the House of Political Enlightenment. [video shows Ligachev at the rostrum addressing the meeting]

[Ligachev] Being a candidate deputy from the CPSU and finding myself firmly on the positions of the Central Commitee address, and as a communist, I will do everything necessary for our people to live considerably better and for our country to advance confidently along the road of progress. Allow me to use this opportunity if I may, to thank you, the participants in this meeting, and likewise the party organizations that have nominated me as a people's deputy candidate, including those in Moscow, Moscow Oblast, Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, the Mari and Tatar Autonomous Republics, Krasnodar and Krasnoyarsk Krays, the Vologda and Penza, Voronezh, Rostov and Orel, Ryazan, Tomsk and Tula, and many other republics and oblasts.

[Sinitsyn] We might note that Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev has been elected as a candidate deputy by 519 of the country's organizations.

[Ligachev] In the address of the party Central Committee, a call for the constructive work and a turning of the economy toward the people resounds. As you will have noticed, the party's election program, which can be called one brimming with realism, comprises what it is possible to accomplish. In the program you will probably not find a single entry where the desired is presented as the reality. All the program proposes to accomplish, comrades, requires an immense straining of all forces.

[Sinitsyn] During numerous meetings Comrade Ligachev attended, the people expressed themselves on the same subjects, with the same thoughts, aware of their responsibility for the cause of restructuring. For this reason, the principled position of many working people in the oblast was reflected in his speech which you will become acquainted with tomorrow in the newspapers and in a TASS summary. Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, both in his conversation with people and in his speech to the party aktiv, devoted particular attention to the preparation for the party's Central Committee plenum, which wil be dedicated to questions of agrarian policy. Marx himself noted that if things are bad for the peasant, then they cannot be good for the society in which that peasant lives. The plenum is to resolve a large range of questions,

among which the social development of the countryside is, perhaps, the main question. resources worth 60 percent more will be allocated for this in the next 5-year plan by comparison with the current 5-year plan. After the speeches of the participants in the meeting, Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev answered a number of questions. [video shows Ligachev sitting at a meeting in a smaller room, dressed for a cold production shop, seeing round stands dealing wih economic performance, inspecting new refrigerators, meeting with farmers in a cowshed, and sitting at the main table in a roundtable set-up].

[Ligachev] [video showss Ligachev addressing the original audience] I have worked in various party posts and they say that I am a fairly demanding person, but I have always attempted to show concern for the people with whom I worked, always trusted them and (?never engaged in persecution) [word indistinct] people.

[Sinitsyn] [video shows rural scenes] One of the questions concerned the loss-making Silyevanovskiy state farm. How can such a farm be helped?

[Ligachev, addressing meeting] Well, there are people who consider that they should be declared bankrupt, that all this business should be, so to speak, distributed to the lease contractors, and that then there will be a full abundance of foodstuffs. But, first of all, you and I did not establish Soviet power so as to treat people and work collectives so shamelessly. We are, after all, a society of social justice. Frequently, when you look carefully into the activity of those farms, not everything, and far from everything, depends on them. We must find other ways.

If one is talking about the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, then one must look at them with an eye to giving them over to strong economic rayons. We have examples of that. Perhaps one can give them over as a subsidiary holding to an industrial enterprise.

The main and most important thing is to get going properly with financial autonomy within enterprises and within farms. Each and every farm, rayon, and oblast must have an action plan, and not dawdle or draw things out because, comrades, things are serious.

*Candidate Abalkin Praised

WA18200187a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by P. Bunich, corresponding member of USSR Academy of Sciences, V. Mayevskiy, Doctor of Economic Sciences and D. Sorokin, Candidate of Economic Sciences: "Devotion To Truth"]

[Text] The Leninist questionnaire for L.I. Abalkin, director of the Institute of Economics and Forecasting of Scientific-Technical Progress of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is being filled out by his agent and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Yuriy Vasilyevich Yaremenko.

Age: 58 years.

Experience: Constant study of all spheres of economic life. Participation in the preparation of important economic-political documents. An experienced teacher and brilliant propagandist of economic knowledge.

Respect for peasantry (workers): He is an indisputable authority on economic matters not only among his economic colleagues but also among practical workers, administrators and party workers. By publicly defending the ideals of economic restructuring, he has earned the respect and admiration of broad layers of the population.

Knowledge of the economy: The knowledge possessed by L.I. Abakin is the knowledge of a man who views the economy as a single integrated system and who records the links existing between various and at times very differing phenomena. The chief characteristic of his scientific style—a search for constructive solutions.

Firmness: All who followed the course of the 19th party conference noted that L.I. Abakin was not inclined to patronize anybody. He always defended his point of view. The example which he has set reveals that restraint and correctness are always more effective than forcible pressure.

His mind: An unusual ability to concentrate. Strong logic. An ability to foresee future events. Loyalty to the Soviet Government: He works hard and in an inspired manner. He does everything needed to ensure that the economic science aids us in finding new paths for development.

Optimism of Cost Accounting—P. Bunich, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences

It is useful and interesting to be an economist. This is certainly true if we have in mind a genuine economist—skilled, bold and energetic. It is on the basis of these qualities that I wish to describe Academician L.I. Abalkin, candidate for people's deputies of the CPSU. He is one of the country's best political economists and political economy, as is well known, is the very foundation for the economic science. During the stage devoted to economic and political restructuring, the number of political economics "prize winners" will include those scientists who occupy leading positions in the formation and development of the new economic concept, who possess an excellent understanding today of the essence of the ideal we wish to achieve and who have rejected the obsolete dogmas and methods of reflection. Included among such scientists is L.I. Abalkin. I believe that if he becomes a USSR people's deputy, he will do everything expected of him in the interest of enriching socialism with a efficient economic mechanism. And where there is a fine mechanism, there will also be a high standard of living, a healthy atmosphere among the people and social optimism.

Cost accounting is found in the center of the plan for a new economic universe. All of the market levers begin and end with it. When there is strong cost accounting, the people become owners of property and active enterprising managers. L.I. Abalkin has for a long time concerned himself with cost accounting and has consistently spoken out against external influences upon restructuring and in behalf of truly radical changes in a serious and prolonged manner. He is quite properly considered to be a leading Soviet specialist in the problems of ownership and he has introduced and is introducing a contribution towards humanizing it in the interest of overcoming the alienation of workers from the means of production. He favors very strong cost accounting systems which exclude methods that impose upon people complete responsibility for the results of their labor and he favors leases and cooperation. Moreover, he does not favor extensive administrative leasing, but rather a voluntary distribution to the extent that it is understood and proper preparations carried out. Here it bears mentioning that there is still one other characteristic of Academician Abalkin—in him we have a clear advocate of economic humanism, pluralism and competition involving various forms, forces and ideas.

There are three types of skilled scientists. Some prefer theory in the belief that there is nothing more practical than it. Others gravitate towards practical actions. The most rare and, in my opinion, the most useful type of professional is on who combines theory and practical work in the best proportion. L.I. Abalkin is a political economist with a realistic economic approach. He does not concern himself with theory that has no practical application just as he ignores pragmatism that neglects theory. It was for this reason that "pure political economists" chose not to include Leonid Ivanovich in their fruitless ranks. As is known, I.V. Stalin used precisely the same abstract political economy without the specific forms and without studying the productive forces, the definitive, canonical and ideological function of which suppressed the constructive function. The new period demands that political economists—those who seek out changes in the economic mechanism—be capable of formulating economic categories and of forecasting the forms for their manifestation. It should not be theory for the sake of theory, but rather theory for practical workers, for the present and the future, for general use and not for elite verbose controversies. The reform serves to transform scientific ideas into methodological developments. In such a reform, L.I. Abalkin is in his element.

Permit me now to add a few words concerning boldness. It is needed in any science and yet I believe that there is a special need for it in the social sciences. It was by no means an accident that in the not too distant past the social sciences as a whole and the economic and political economic sciences in particular served as an example of servility, glorification and conformism. Nor is it an accident that today we can only hope that society will require its political economists to speak the truth, only the truth and all of the truth. And it should not be just a part of the truth, but the truth in its full volume.

Restructuring is spreading throughout the country and it is opening up socialism anew for the very first time in many parts of the world. Some ideas are being confirmed while others are proving to be erroneous. Those scientists who are uncovering the mistakes or issuing advance warnings concerning them and who are engaging in polemics with the majority, and this in principle is a constitutional sign of science—such scientists in my opinion should be evaluated by the party and country as worth their weight in gold, for they represent the gold fund of society. L.I. Abalkin speaks out, thinks and writes on subjects which he considers necessary in a calm, thoughtful and well reasoned manner. His personal norm for boldness exceeds to a considerable degree the sharply increasing average social norm for boldness and even the average boldness of the country's best economists. Nor is it evident in the force of his voice, anguish or brilliance of dress, but rather in the depth of the questions raised and their importance.

L.I. Abalkin is not an armchair scientist, but rather he is an innovator, a public figure and a champion for restructuring, which is most important at the present time. As the director of the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician Abalkin must defend the recommendations of the economic science, participate in many committees, speak out during various forums and meet with representatives from all population groups.

In conclusion, allow me to cite still another factor of considerable importance—the personal qualities of L.I. Abalkin. He is never given to churlishness or to acting in a high-handed manner. He is humble and thoughtful towards people and a reliable individual who makes few promises and always manages to carry them out, while being responsible for any hurt inflicted along the way—be it to a worker attached to the institute directed by him or to a fellow citizen. L.I. Abalkin is always respectable and decent even when the circumstances do not favor such a manner. He has passed a very stern examination. Leonid Ivanovich is a worthy candidate for the people's deputies of the USSR.

Science—The Economy's Pilot—V. Mayevskiy, Doctor of Economic Sciences, and D. Sorokin, Candidate of Economic Sciences

The appearance on the party's list of candidates of Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in all probability came as a surprise to many. The speech delivered by Leonid Ivanovich during the 19th all-union party conference that aroused conflicting evaluations is still fresh in one's memory. And after the General Secretary of the Central Committee expressed his disagreement with one of the theses, those people who grew up under conditions in which the monopoly on truth belonged only to the former drew the traditional conclusions. During the time that has elapsed, the authors of

these lines have on more than one occasion had to explain to different people that L.I. Abalkin, just as in the past, is the director of an institute.

In this sense, the Plenum of the Central Committee, having included Academician L.I. Abalkin on the list of candidates, provided all of us with still another lesson in democracy by revealing that the party has seriously undertaken a program aimed at creating a renewed socialist society over an extended period of time.

The name of Academician L.I. Abalkin is well known. Numerous speeches, interviews and books serve to reveal the moral make-up of this prominent theoretician of the radical economic reform, an individual who strived to adapt it to the language of economic practice. Nevertheless, those of us who have known Leonid Ivanovich since those times when his name was associated mainly with specialists and students would like to discuss the path he has traveled. Today there are too many sensation-seeking and noisy advocates of restructuring, individuals who see in it not so much a chance for their country but rather for their own careers. Thus a need exists for society possessing a better understanding of those who developed restructuring and who must truly undertake the difficult burden of responsibility for its course and results.

In connection with being promoted from a candidate to a deputy for a territorial district (even prior to his promotion from the party), Leonid Ivanovich was asked: How did he intend to defend the interests of his electors in the higher organ? He replied: If each deputy goes to the Congress of Soviets with the task of defending the interests of "his own" territorial or national district or "his own" social organization, then who will look out for the state as a whole? Thus Abalkin added that if he was to be elected he would defend the interests of his electors first of all as a citizen of the USSR. There is still a great desire to be "his own" man in the echelons of power. But indeed we will elect people's deputies of the USSR, that is, those individuals who are capable of rising to the level of state thought. The finding of such people and granting them the power and authority to serve as deputies constitutes the first step taken towards true democracy. No—once again the "servants of the people" will think in our behalf.

Leonid Ivanovich does not yield to moods and he does not strive towards a deputy's mandate but rather he places emphasis upon ensuring that each one of us becomes a master of our country. Does he know the path to be taken for accomplishing this? Let the reader himself decide. He needs only to obtain the works of L.I. Abalkin over the past 20 years from a library. There is not one word in these works which the author would reject today. This is not meant to imply that today he is entirely in agreement with everything he stood for back at that time. Science does not stand idly in place and that which is true today will be yesterday's news tomorrow. But in the books of Leonid Ivanovich a reader will see the path for scientific development and not a political situation and also science, the goal of which is knowledge of the truth and not the opinions of the powers that be.

In addition to erudition, service in behalf of truth at all times requires tremendous civil courage. A constant campaign aimed at ensuring that science remains a science and a struggle against opponents who operate in defiance of the generally accepted norms for human decency and scientific ethics and who prefer an open scientific discussion when composing letters in a department were concerns not only of Abalkin the economist but also Abalkin the secretary of the party committee of the Moscow Institute of National Economy imeni G.V. Plekhanov, member of the rayon party committee and deputy of the rayon soviet. He had to resist not only the faulty methods employed in administering the institute, but also the support provided at the time by the leadership of the Moscow Municipal Party Committee.

Communist Abalkin received his party card during the year of the 20th party congress, which proclaimed a return to the Leninist norms for social life and loyalty to this program at all times was a distinctive feature of this scientist. His first important work was published in 1965, when the program for economic reform was announced. His second work—during the last year of the 8th 5-Year Plan. And although by this time it had already become clear that the reform was shifting somewhat, the young scientist, almost without noticing the existing political situation, continued to defend the ideas of the reform: economic independence and the responsibility of producers based upon the democratization of economic life and the conversion of each worker into a true master of production. And a chief consideration: The economic science must be not a commentator or apologist for the economic policies carried out, but rather a pilot for laying out its course.

These thoughts raised a discord against a background of an increasing chorus of political opponents of science. There were those who preferred to replace an analysis of lively activity with scholastic arguments concerning the so-called communistic principles of the socialist economy. And in 1973, Leonid Ivanovich, when the defeat of the reform was already clear, a political and not scientific defeat, published a book on the socialist economic mechanism in which he validated the need for thorough changes and outlined the contours for the present radical economic reform. In the early 1980's, when the country was advancing towards a socio-economic crisis, L.I. Abalkin published the book "Dialektika sotsialisticheskoy ekonomiki" [Dialectics of Socialist Economics], in which he conclusively validated the need for a new program for economic policies. And Leonid Ivanovich did not budge one inch from the scientific truth or from the obligation of a scientist, citizen or Communist.

Nobody possesses a monopoly on truth. And nevertheless the planting of a harmony of opinion and intolerance of someone else's opinion, when the chief concern

becomes not a search for truth but rather a campaign against an opponent, did not leave science untouched. Similar to any creative collective, the Institute of Economics exists on the basis of discussions and disputes. You may agree or disagree with the director, but you will necessarily sense an ability to listen to an opponent, analyze his arguments, draw unprejudiced conclusions from them and not yield to any ambitious feelings.

"Good enough" stated another reader who overheard the criticism of the economic science, "but what can the institute headed by Academician Abalkin recommend for restructuring today?"

In early January, the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers examined the entire concept concerned with strengthening and developing the economic reform, as developed by the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This concept was prepared in the country for the very first time. It was welcomed with great interest in government where for all practical purposes it signified the next stage in the interaction of the economic science with managerial practice. That which the delegate to the 19th all-union party conference L.I. Abalkin fought for came true: Science is becoming the chief expert for the economic policies being implemented.

Vorotnikov Addresses Voronezh Meeting

PM0103152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Goal of Restructuring Is the People's Sovereignty"]

[Text] Voronezh, 28 Feb—A gathering of voters was held here today to meet with V.I. Vorotnikov, candidate USSR people's deputy for Voronezhskiy National Territorial Electoral Okrug No 5, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The meeting was opened by N.F. Popov, chairman of the okrug electoral commission and leader of a team of lathe operators at the excavator production association named for the Comintern in Voronezh.

The speakers at the meeting—N.G. Pegarkov, chairman of the "Velikiy Oktyabr" Kolkhoz in Khokholskiy Rayon, Voronezh Oblast; G.S. Kabasin, first secretary of Voronezh CPSU Obkom; A.M. Safonov, chairman of Tambov Gorispolkom; V.V. Gusev, rector of Voronezh State University; T.P. Kolmakova, milkmaid at the "Gigant" Kolkhoz in Zherdevskiy Rayon, Tambov Oblast; and others spoke of voters' desire to take an active part in sociopolitical life and to strengthen restructuring by their labor.

The meeting participants were addressed by V.I. Vorotnikov.

He cordially thanked the working people's collectives in Voronezh and Tambov Oblasts which nominated him as candidate USSR people's deputy. This trust is also precious because for many years my life and work were linked with Voronezh Oblast and other oblasts of the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone, the speaker said.

He described the course of the election campaign, stressing that the CPSU Central Committee's election address to the party and the Soviet people is meeting with total understanding and support.

Analyzing the almost 4 years of restructuring initiated by the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, the speaker noted that even if you use the strictest criteria, the main conclusion is indisputable: Our huge national economy is gradually switching to a more efficient path of development. This is true of the whole country and of the RSFSR, and it is also true of Voronezh and Tambov oblasts.

The economy is moving forward and the projected plans are being fulfilled on the whole. There are improvements, and they open up reliable prospects before us. It is gratifying that fundamental changes have begun in the national economic structure. The radical reconstruction of machine building is being transformed from a slogan into reality. Production of progressive types of machines and equipment has increased, the scale of output renewal has expanded, and the entire increase in output has been obtained by means of improved labor productivity. The power industry, the extractive industry, and transport are working more stably. The unswerving implementation of the vigorous investment policy formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress is also helping to change the national economy's structure.

Another achievement of fundamental importance is the positive change in the agro-industrial complex. Over the last 3 years gross agricultural output has increased by 10 percent in the RSFSR, 18 percent in Voronezh Oblast, and 23 percent in Tambov Oblast. The RSFSR's kolkhozes and sovkhozes have increased the sale to the state of almost all types of agricultural output. This has made it possible to improve food supplies to the population somewhat.

V.I. Vorotnikov stressed that at the same time the changes for the better in the national economy are still insignificant. Why are we simply unable to secure the radical breakthrough that life itself demands?

It is now clear to everyone that it is impossible to develop agricultural production at an accelerated pace without showing constant concern for the most important factor—rural working people and the creation of the necessary social and consumer service conditions for them. It is people who carry out everything we plan—both in the center and at local level—and all our programs. Yet they and their needs are often forgotten and pushed into the background.

Of course, it cannot be said that no attention is paid to providing amenities for villages and hamlets in the RSFSR. Personal construction, the construction of roads, and the provision of gas supplies for villages have begun to be carried out more vigorously in recent years in a number of rayons and farms in Tambov and Voronezh oblasts. But this work is still being carried out by no means everywhere, and at an insufficiently high rate. If we truly want real, sharp changes, a greater return, and more efficient agriculture, we must pay priority attention to the social development of the countryside. Downright exceptional measures must be taken here.

The restructuring of economic relations in the countryside requires equally great efforts today. This process has already begun. Cooperative associations, combines, and agricultural firms are being formed, economic accountability and various forms of contract are being developed, and so forth.

However, to be blunt, the restructuring of economic relations in agriculture is still proceeding slowly in the oblasts of the Non-Chernozem Zone. It is in no way a matter of forcing these processes and turning them into just another campaign. On the contrary, the role played by large specialized farms and strong kolkhozes or sovkhozes cannot be called into question. But it would be a great mistake merely to watch, because of this, from the sidelines, and wait for the lease, cooperatives, economic accountability, and the contract to arrive automatically in our fields and livestock units.

The speaker also dwelt on the problem of the safekeeping of agricultural output, and stressed that a good material and technical base is needed in order to reduce losses. It is precisely the reception, storage, and processing base that is still the stumbling block for us—its level is improving only very slowly in the republic. The speech mentioned among the priority tasks that of improving rural working conditions. The fact that half of all heavy operations are performed manually in agriculture, especially in sheep raising and livestock raising, cannot be tolerated.

V.I. Vorotnikov noted that it is impossible to boost the countryside without assistance from the city. It is a question of a sharp turn toward the countryside on the part of the city, this being understood primarily as the organization of mutually advantageous economic links between them. The more the city does for the countryside today, the more it will receive from it tomorrow.

The speaker drew attention to another key task of social policy—the accelerated development of sectors producing consumer goods. Output of them is now increasing, but on the whole demand is not being met. The party Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers are taking a number of measures in an attempt to overcome the existing difficulties. The defense sectors and enterprises with other specialities are being involved in manufacturing the machinery necessary to improve the equipment of light and food industry enterprises. Firms and enterprises are being created in conjunction with foreign partners. Potential for purchasing imported goods is being sought. The question is now as follows: Every industrial enterprise, no matter which sector it belongs to, must produce consumer goods. Full use is not being made of the potential of enterprises and organizations for providing paid services to workers and employees.

Consumer goods production in Voronezh Oblast seems to have increased, although not by much—by just 1 percent in 3 years. And a large quantity of goods—over 40 percent last year, for instance—was shipped in from elsewhere. In Tambov Oblast production of goods in mass demand increased by 5 percent, mostly via so-called "sundries." But, just as in Voronezh, a great quantity of goods is shipped in from elsewhere.

People will say that there is some growth, notwithstanding. No, it turns out that there is essentially no growth. The growth in question, in light industry for instance, has been achieved by producing expensive articles, particularly those bearing the "N" [new product] index. This made it possible to compensate—but in monetary terms alone—for the actual decline in production of cheap but badly needed output.

Dwelling on the burning problem of satisfying the population's needs for housing, the speaker noted that positive changes are taking place in this regard. But it is well known how many people—in both city and countryside—are still waiting their turn to receive housing. Broad potential is now being opened up for construction by the direct labor method and for individual construction. Preferential credits have been brought into effect. A resolution under which citizens can buy state apartments was recently adopted. Full use must be made of all this to solve the housing problem.

Going on to speak of the social reorientation of the economy, V.I. Vorotnikov stressed that this is also aided by the consistently implemented line of enhancing the economy's efficiency. The greater society's aggregate economic potential is, the more it will be able to earmark for consumption.

The common denominator and linchpin of all the changes taking place in our national economy today is the radical reform of the economic mechanism, which began last year. Efficient forms of contract and lease are being introduced, a switch to wholesale trade and to the development of direct ties between enterprises is being carried out, and elements of regional economic accountability are beginning to be created. As of 1 January this year all RSFSR industry has switched to economic accountability and self-financing. Thanks in particular to this, as early as January the number of enterprises failing to meet contractual commitments for output

deliveries fell by almost one-third. The widespread dissemination of the cooperative movement should be viewed as part of the economic reform.

What is retarding the economic reform in general? Why are economic methods still unable to develop with full force?

Above all, because the reform is making extremely uneven headway in different spheres. And in some instances it has still not begun and, let us be fair, could not have begun. Yet the reform is a united, integral process, and all its elements are interconnected and influence each other. There are also other difficult problems. The most acute and painful of these is the budget deficit. Earnings remain unrealized because the goods to cover a considerable proportion of income simply do not exist.

What is the way out? To reduce the population's income, perhaps, and abandon the program to raise the wages of low-paid categories of people and pensions? That has been ruled out. One thing is certain: It is necessary to sharply increase production of goods and expand the range of services offered.

What other measures can and must be taken? It is a question today of suspending the implementation of expensive large-scale projects that do not yield a rapid return. It will be necessary to sharply reduce the number of loss-making and low-profit enterprises and to reduce the volume of unfinished construction. Of course, the reduction of defense spending and the reorientation of defense plants to produce civilian output will also play a part. But no changes in programs will produce the desired result unless the reckless squandering of resources is stopped, unless thrift becomes one of the leading principles of economic management. We must count every ruble and make savings everywhere and in everything. Otherwise what kind of masters are we?

Under conditions of the reform, when prices and wages have to a large extent begun to be determined at the enterprise, a kind of group egoism—and attempts at all costs to obtain an increase in your own level of income while disregarding society's interests—are often making themselves felt. The upshot is that people are putting up prices, getting more money, and raising wages, but the country is getting no more output.

Who is to blame for this? It is certainly those whose income is increasing faster than their labor productivity who are primarily to blame. The ministries also bear a share of the blame, since they often take a considerable proportion of profits from enterprises in the form of deductions. And, of course, in general the prevailing practice of relations between the center and the localities bears a share.

As is well known, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently examined the draft general principles for restructuring the leadership of the economy and social sphere in the republics on the basis of self-management and self-financing. It is intended to publish the draft in the press, for broad discussion.

Practice constantly confirms that the economic mechanism which exists today does not fully take regional facts into account. The underestimation of local potential means that as a result, poor use is made of the tremendous advantages yielded by the territorial division of labor. And this hampers the growth of the country's potential, and the satisfaction of its general needs and the needs of individual regions.

The speaker went on to dwell in detail on the transformations in political and state life. It is precisely in this major strategic direction of the development of restructuring that man emerges as a citizen with rights and duties to the country, empowered to take a businesslike, responsible part in the adoption and implementation of socially important decisions.

The speaker recalled that the main aim of the political reform is to improve the effectiveness of party and state leadership and local organs of power by really strengthening their democratic basis and involving the broad masses of the population in society's management. Whatever power structures are created here, the most important point is to ensure that their activity is democratic, and that they have rights and potential enabling them to really perform their functions, not just in terms of form but in terms of substance. That is the first point.

Second. Any transformations in our multinational state must be carried out in such a way so as not to disrupt its unity, and not weaken but strengthen the national economic, cultural, spiritual, and interpersonal ties that have taken shape over the centuries. It was only thanks to the fraternal unity of the Soviet nations and ethnic groups that we held out at complex historical turning points, and they have all derived support and potential for comprehensive development from this unity. Is there any need to say how necessary the consolidation and cohesion of the Soviet people are today, when the success of restructuring depends on how powerful, purposeful, and harmonious their efforts are?

How is the political reform going? It began with the restructuring of the party's work, the reorganization of its apparatus, and the democratic renewal of forms and methods of party work. The formation of the country's leading state organs has begun and the election campaign is developing in accordance with legislative acts adopted after broad discussion. The course of the election campaign and its entire atmosphere can be said to confirm how important and timely these innovations were.

The improvement of constitutional state building is a component part of the political reform. Another stage of the political reform aimed at demarcating the functions of the USSR and the union republics, harmonizing interethnic relations, and strengthening principles of internationalism lies ahead. A substantial expansion of the republics' economic autonomy is envisaged.

V.I. Vorotnikov disclosed that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is working actively on questions connected with the further development of autonomous formations—autonomous republics, and also oblasts and okrugs. A draft Law on Local Self-Management and the Local Economy is being intensively prepared. This is an exceptionally important part of social relations linked with the resolution of problems of local importance by the population itself and its organs. Republic draft laws on amendments and additions to the RSFSR Constitution and on the election of RSFSR people's deputies and local soviets are in preparation. The task is to create a legal basis for considerably expanding full, effective participation by the republic's citizens in its economic and sociopolitical life. The bills will also be referred for general discussion.

The revolutionary transformations opening up great scope for each person's development also deeply affect the spiritual sphere of social life, the candidate for USSR people's deputy said. It was there that the ideas of renewal ripened; it was from there that sharp criticism of stagnation phenomena emanated. Vigorous civic thought permeates the best works of eminent representatives of our culture and science.

Great creative work to revive the Leninist concept of socialism and renew our ideology in the light of present social trends is developing under the leadership of the Central Committee. Ways of forming a socially active individual and the enrichment of the people's political and spiritual culture lie at the center of the party's theoretical activity.

Restructuring has intensified interest in the country's history—not only because of the keen desire to know the truth, and not only because many facts that change our impressions of important past events have become known. The history of the fatherland is an inexhaustible source of moral strength and strength of human spirit. However, one cannot help noticing certain publications and remarks whose authors uphold one-sided, biased versions of our history. Justified criticism of the personality cult sometimes turns into criticism of the foundations of the Soviet way of life, an attack on socialism, and attempts to denigrate the people. In order to correctly see the meaning and aims of restructuring it is necessary to remember the entire path the country has traveled, analyze it, learn lessons from the negative stages, but at the same time take from the past everything that is positive, good, and precious to the people.

The speaker dwelt on certain questions of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state aimed at humanizing international relations. It has resulted in a substantial improvement of the political atmosphere of the planet.

In conclusion, V.I. Vorotnikov gave assurances that the party Central Committee and the state leadership will continue to do everything to ensure peaceful conditions for socialist building in our country, the normalization of the international situation, the elimination of the threat of war, and the consolidation of world peace.

Vorotnikov Visits Oblast Enterprises

PM0203162389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Stay in Voronezh and Tambov Oblasts"]

[Text] From 24 February through 1 March V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was in Voronezh and Tambov Oblasts. He visited industrial and agricultural enterprises, where conversations took place connected with restructuring in diverse spheres of society's life.

V.I. Vorotnikov spoke at a meeting of voters as candidate for USSR people's deputy for Voronezh No 5 National-Territorial District.

At the Voronezh synthetic rubber plant named for S.M. Kirov, and at the Aviation Production Association, the need to do more to introduce scientific-technical achievements and economically accountable and lease relations into production, and to raise output quality, was discussed.

It was noted that today a serious lag has been tolerated in many important areas of the economy. In developing restructuring, economic reform should be strengthened by the powerful impetus of technical progress.

During the visit to the "Revtrud" and "Galvanotekhnika" production associations in Tambov, questions were discussed about interrelations between enterprises and sector personnel under conditions of economic accountability, the competitiveness of goods, and the development of the collectives' social sphere. In "Revtrud" the conversation was about a subsidiary farm set up there which last year delivered 74 tonnes of meat to the workers and employees.

In recent years agricultural workers in Voronezh and Tambov oblasts have achieved definite success. Through the introduction of lease and contract forms of labor organization they have increased fields' and livestock units' productivity. Conversations between the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and agricultural workers and stock breeders were devoted to these and other questions.

In the Voronezh "Maslovskiy" state livestock breeding center he looked around a center for transplanting cattle embryos in order to facilitate the intensive breeding of highly productive animals. The guest visited a new cheese-making shop and was acquainted with family contract experience. Leaders and specialists at Tambov's "Arzhenka" state poultry breeding center informed him about the creation of advanced egg production technology.

The candidate for USSR people's deputy asked about the working and living conditions of working people at the Kalinin Kolkhoz and the "Rossiya" and "Path to Communism" kolkhozes in Voronezh. V.I. Vorotnikov heard the opinions of the kolkhoz members about how to improve the status and structure of the Gosagroprom organs in the light of preparations for the coming CPSU Central Committee plenum on the agricultural question, and he recommended showing greater concern for the rural population's living conditions and increasing the volume of individual housing construction.

The guest visited a number of the oblast centers' socio-cultural facilities, and in consumer cooperative stores drew attention to the necessity for extending the range of foodstuffs and striving to satisfy the population's demands more fully.

In the Voronezh city Young Pioneers' Center, the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was acquainted with the work of special interest groups, clubs, and associations, and attended amateur theatrical rehearsals. In the "Solnyshko" children's educational center and the oblast children's hospital, the guest devoted a great deal of attention to maternal and infant health protection and the prevention of children's diseases.

Problems of speeding up the reforms of the political system, democratizing the party leadership, and increasing the standard of ideological work in primary party organizations were raised at a meeting with members of the CPSU obkom bureaus and oblast party and soviet leaders.

G.S. Kabasin, first secretary of Voronezh party obkom; A.M. Voropayev, oblispolkom chairman; Ye.M. Podolskiy, first secretary of Tambov party obkom; and Ye.D. Lopatin, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, accompanied V.I. Vorotnikov on the tour.

Shcherbitskiy Visits Dnepropetrovsk

LD0303000489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Viktor [as heard] Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy today visited the town of Zheltyye Vody, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

[Correspondent G. Klimov] [video shows factory] The output of the synthetic fur factory in Zheltyye Vody is still raw material at this stage. [passage omitted] In playing host to Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy, the factory workers described how the collective had been carrying out economic management under the new conditions of the last 3 years. The first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee visited social, cultural, and consumer amenities. In the evening, in the Lenin Palace of Culture, a meeting between voters and the candidate deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet took place. [video shows Shcherbitskiy being shown around the factory]

Addressing his audience, Comrade Shcherbitskiy said, in part:

[Begin Shcherbitskiy recording] [video shows Shcherbitskiy speaking from rostrum] Today specific and real forms of genuine popular power and socialist self-management are being created and tested by life. Comrades, we are witnesses of the way in which the practical implementation of the political reform is bringing us back to a Leninist understanding of the state as a political organization of working people, the toiling people, to the Leninist slogan: All power to the soviets! Of course, democracy and glasnost are inseparable from political culture, conscientiousness, state and labor discipline, and a resolute struggle against all the negative phenomena that make themselves felt in our life, and many comrades were telling me—people have been telling me in the streets and in conversations, in factories and in the mines—that these phenomena also, to a certain degree, worry the residents of your town. I am profoundly convinced that in everything we do, and this includes the period of democratization and restructuring, we need firmness and an uncompromising approach in cases where the eradication of slackness, mismanagement, sponging, and, moreover, such crimes as bribetaking and speculation, which have now become prevalent to a significant degree, is concerned. Party and local soviet bodies must pursue a principled policy on these matters. I believe—and this must be stated frankly; it is borne out by experience—that without active help from all the people in eliminating these shortcomings in the life of society, no government will be capable on its own, in isolation from the people, without the people, of overcoming the infringements of the law that I listed. We can only perform this task with everyone acting together.

For restructuring to gather force, an intensification of practical work in all areas is needed now. Where people are grasping with both hands, as the saying goes, the job of tackling serious and complex new tasks, things are going well. But where people are looking on and wavering, where people have not adopted a position and [words indistinct], things are frankly going indifferently. Naturally, comrades, this requires increased responsibility and great efforts by each one of us at our post and at our workplace. It is unquestionable that the main strength of restructuring is our Soviet people. We must

all firmly remember that no one can perform on our behalf the tasks that exist and that have arisen in connection with restructuring. We must tackle these tasks ourselves. Only we ourselves, together, through joint efforts, can and must overcome all difficulties and achieve that which we have planned. [applause] [end recording]

Pugo Addresses Kalinin Aktiv

PM0203121189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Developing Democracy, Enhancing Responsibility"]

[Text] Kalinin, 1 Mar—The course of the current election campaign is marked by further development of socialist democracy and everyone's active participation in sociopolitical life. It offers graphic proof of the changes in the entire atmosphere of society, which is distinguished by enhanced civic activeness in all strata of the population and their profound interest in the future of restructuring. A frank and thorough discussion of the problems of Soviet society's development, of the ways to transform it, and of everything that is painful and worrying is under way, everywhere.

Such an atmosphere of frankness and keen interest was thoroughly evident at today's meeting in Kalinin between the city party aktiv and B.K. Pugo, CPSU candidate for people's deputy and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

The meeting, which was opened by N.F. Tatarchuk, first secretary of the Kalinin CPSU Obkom, was held in an unconstrained atmosphere. Participants in the meeting mounted the rostrum or took the microphones in the audience to express their ideas and feelings on the painful questions of society's development, of its economy, culture, and moral renewal. The candidate people's deputy was asked quite a few questions about different aspects of society's life, party policy, and the Party Control Committee's activity. B.P. Belyakov, party committee secretary at the "Tsentrosvar" Plant; V.V. Markov, director of the "Khimvolokno" Production Association; N.P. Shekhov, chairman of the Kalinin cotton combine labor collective council; A.A. Chuykov, artist from the Kalinin Drama Theater; A.I. Mikhaylova, chief agronomist at the "Bolshevik" Sovkhoz; and Ye.I. Shibanov, party committee secretary at the Polytechnical Institute, took part in a lively exchange of opinions.

B.K. Pugo addressed those assembled. Our present, which is marked by restructuring, has quite a few typical features, he said. One of them will certainly be the current election campaign—the first campaign following the amendments to the USSR Constitution and the adoption of the Law on Elections. We have never before experienced such political activeness by the masses as can be observed now.

The party joined this campaign with its own ramified and clear-cut program. It sums up the results of the first few years of restructuring and presents to the people the basic guidelines of party policy for the immediate future. As a CPSU candidate for people's deputy, I naturally accept this platform as guidance for action. Should I gain the voters' confidence at the final stage of the election campaign—through the ballot box—I shall apply all my efforts to living up to the deputy's mandate.

April 1985, the speaker went on, switched the social processes onto the tracks of restructuring. They were given a powerful impulse by the 27th CPSU Congress. The ideas put forward by the party expressed the people's aspirations and hopes. This is why they won the people's energetic support and became a truly material force.

The changes affect every party organization, every labor collective, every one of us. Soviet people no longer accept society without real people's power, without full-blooded democracy, without legal guarantees. It is impossible to remain indifferent to affairs in one's own republic, kray, or oblast. People's individualities have been awoken. People want to know everything; they want to suggest their own solutions to any question.

Practice convinces us that the process of renewal is complex and contradictory. It does not always proceed the way we would like it to. It is important for the party to soberly assess the situation and to perceive everything that brakes restructuring. Communists today speak openly about difficulties and unsolved problems; they suggest realistic ways to overcome shortcomings.

The practical implementation of things that were until quite recently only being analyzed, weighed, and elaborated is now under way, and not just in individual sectors but along a broad front. The economic reform is deepening and has come closer to a qualitatively new stage—to changes in production relations, and primarily property relations, through the introduction of full economic accountability, contracts, and leasing, and through the utmost development of the cooperative system. Examples of work in the new fashion can also be seen in different national economic sectors in Kalinin Oblast.

At the same time, there are still quite a few leaders who eye the progressive forms of labor organization with timidity—and at times even with mistrust. It would be hard to explain otherwise why 19 of the oblast's rayons do not have a single leasing collective in crop farming, while 16 have no such collectives in dairy stockraising. And yet practical experience shows that this is actually the way which really combines the advantages of social ownership with people's individual interests, and revives their sense of being the masters. There must be freedom of initiative in all work. It does prove its worth. People's

interests are the driving force of economic and social development. The masses' attitude to restructuring depends largely on the way we solve the pressing questions of this development.

Restructuring is the cause of millions, of all labor collectives. Primary party organizations are the nucleus of labor collectives. They are nearer than anyone else to people, to their moods and concerns. They are the ones capable of utilizing the full potential of monitoring exercised by Communists and the broad masses. Wherever primary party organizations build their work in conditions of democracy and glasnost, use the methods of persuasion, and respect every worker's dignity, restructuring is progressing successfully in their collectives.

The democratization of intraparty relations does not simply enhance primary organizations' activeness, it actually introduces an innovative spirit, initiative, and creativity into their lives. Over 26,000 suggestions and critical comments were received from the oblast's Communists during the recent report and election campaign. This is a graphic indicator that the oblast party organization's mighty potential has been successfully activated.

B.K. Pugo gave special attention to the question of shaping the party ranks. The party has abandoned the practice of quotas. It is therefore that much more important to work persistently to select the best representatives of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia for CPSU membership. Meanwhile, over one-half of the oblast's primary organizations did no work at all on recruitment to the party last year. Selection for party membership is still not done in conditions of complete democracy and glasnost. Only one in every eight applications for admission to the CPSU is examined in advance at labor collective meetings, while many rayon party organizations do not do this at all. Serious thought must be given to all of this.

The speaker went on to dwell on some key aspects of the struggle for the party member's pure and honest image. We must not close our eyes to even trivial negative phenomena, he said. The rust that appears on the breeding ground of permissiveness and liberalism must be constantly scraped off. Only thus will it be possible to promptly diagnose the symptoms of the disease which V.I. Lenin dubbed "communist arrogance." Only thus will it be possible to preserve the moral health of Communists and boost the militancy of primary party organizations. Unfortunately, a tolerant and unprincipled attitude to the misdeeds of Communists, especially leaders, still prevails in the oblast's party organizations. Some primary party organizations display no activeness and have hardly any influence on the state of affairs in labor collectives.

Contemporary social life, the chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee went on, has presented us with quite a few questions. Acute and unexpected questions. Some of them went by unnoticed until yesterday, while others—why make a secret of it—were simply being brushed aside. The party has firmly rejected dogmas, stereotypes, and obsolete forms of party political work. I will not conceal the fact that this has dismayed some people, but others—and they represent the overwhelming majority—have started to think, to seek, to act. Under these conditions, Communists' work in soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperatives, creative unions, and various public formations demands exceptional attention. To persuade, to lead, and to protect restructuring from ambitious persons, demagogues, and people with dishonest intentions—these must be the manifestations of Communists' vanguard role. There are quite a few such examples, and they must become a rigid rule.

Every party member's right to criticize is inseparable from the strictest observance of party discipline. No matter what the topic of argument between us Communists, no matter how sharp our debates, we must always bear in mind that the party's strength and prestige lie primarily in the cohesion of its ranks, the unity of practical deeds. Let me remind you of Lenin's words: "Unity of action, freedom of discussion and criticism...only such discipline befits the democratic party of the vanguard class."

Every Communist and every primary party organization must now take a clear-cut ideological stance based on the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th all-union party conference. The party documents comprise an indivisible whole. It is impossible to single out only what is suitable. For example, some people speak about democracy and totally forget about responsibility. And yet every unprejudiced person is perfectly well aware that democracy does not mean total license or irresponsibility. Democracy means a combination of rights and obligations. It means society's self-control based on Soviet people's civic maturity.

Dwelling on questions of the CPSU's foreign policy activity, the speaker emphasized that restructuring and the new political thinking have become a decisive factor for improvements in international life.

B.K. Pugo said in conclusion: All the party's plans are subordinate to the people's interests. The most important guarantee of success is provided by the active stance of every Communist and every Soviet person, by their inspired labor and skills. Peace, socialism, and the motherland's prosperity—these key ideas underlie the party's political platform. They are the ideas with which it approaches the elections of people's deputies.

During his 27 February-1 March visit to Kalinin Oblast, the chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee saw for himself the life of labor collectives in the Upper Volga Valley. He met workers from industrial enterprises, construction industry workers, agricultural working people, and scientists, and

asked about the problems of the oblast's economic and social development and about the successes and difficulties in introducing the new forms of economic management.

B.K. Pugo focused much attention on the activity of construction industry organizations. While visiting the sector's largest enterprises in Kalinin—the large-panel housing construction planning and construction association, and the rural construction combine—he asked about the activity of labor collective councils and the role they play in the solution of production, social, and consumer service problems. Conversations with enterprise leaders and workers focused on the need to further democratize all aspects of labor collectives' life and on the switch to contracts and leasing as the most economically effective forms of production organization. Approval was given to the "Fasad" [Facade] Program being implemented in the oblast, thanks to which apartment blocks erected using industrial methods are given an original appearance.

While at the Kalinin cotton combine, B.K. Pugo saw for himself the modern technologies which make it possible to significantly enhance labor productivity in textile production. There was a lively discussion on questions of improving the quality and finishing of output, and providing better working conditions for the textile workers.

Problems of the development of lease relations in agriculture were at the center of attention during a visit to the "Krasnaya Niva" Sovkhoz.

Scientists from the All-Union Synthetic Fibers Scientific Research Institute told the chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee about their achievements and difficulties. Emphasis in conversations with them was placed on the need to boost the efficiency of science and to speed up the practical introduction of its elaborations. Great assistance in this regard ought to be provided by a switch to forms of mutual relations between scientists and production workers which would stimulate their mutual interest.

B.K. Pugo also visited the oblast industrial exhibition and the Kalinin art gallery, and saw for himself the work of the city's trade and public catering enterprises.

B.K. Pugo was accompanied on his tour by N.F. Tatarchuk.

Central Electoral Commission Discusses Elections

PM0203150589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by I. Karpenko: "Time of Election Meetings; in Central Electoral Commission"]

[Text] Less than a month remains before the day for the elections of people's deputies. The present stage of the election campaign is a time of meetings between voters and their candidates, of familiarization with their programs—a time of election agitation. It was these problems in the activity of the okrug electoral commissions and the commissions from public organizations which were discussed 28 February at a session of the Central Electoral Commission.

P. Alkesandravichyus, chairman of the No 687 Alitusskiy territorial okrug commission, Lithuanian SSR; T. Ramadanov, chairman of the Alma-Ata Leninskiy No 130 national-territorial okrug commission; and Central Electoral Commission members V. Mishkinis and Z. Aliyeva described preparation for the elections in their okrugs. On the basis of an analysis of the development of the election campaign in these okrugs, a resolution was adopted which suggested focusing the electoral commissions' main attention on the use of every opportunity provided by the Law on Elections for the active participation of voters, labor collectives, and agents in the discussion of candidacies; for the agitation on behalf of their candidates, while unfailingly observing the principle of parity in the means of this agitation; for broad glasnost; and for the population's prompt and full provision with information regarding the time and place of meetings with contenders for deputies' seats.

There is even less time for this work in the electoral commissions from public organizations—voting at plenums and conferences here will take place 11 through 22 March. Yu. Platonov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Architects' Union, and V. Maslin, first deputy chairman of the board of the Soviet Peace Foundation, reported on preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies in their organizations. The public organizations are usually well acquainted with their workers, particularly leaders, who are nominated as candidate deputies. At the same time there are specific difficulties here—the branches of all-union societies in which meetings with candidates and familiarization with their programs are scheduled, or are being held, are scattered all over the country. Elections from public organizations are in general being held for the first time, and that is why the Central Electoral Commission session and the resolution have paid particular attention to ensuring that lists of voters are compiled promptly and on a unified documentary basis, that plans are elaborated for holding plenums and conferences, and that the necessary conditions are created for electoral commissions' precise and organized work in carrying out the ballot and establishing the results of the elections.

Everything is new and unfamiliar in this work, and there is much which has not yet been envisaged by the Law on Elections. Of course, not everything is clear even to the members of the Central Electoral Commission. For instance, heated disputes and debates were generated by the situation, entirely feasible in the long term, whereby some candidates fail to receive the necessary number of votes, and the seats which have remained free demand that new elections be organized. It has been decided that

the participants in conferences and plenums can immediately nominate their candidates on the same day and, if required, propose a new composition for the electoral commissions. But the Central Electoral Commission session did not succeed in reaching a single opinion on the possible deadline for repeat elections and the time needed to become acquainted with the new candidates and their programs—this will be announced to the union organizations as soon as possible.

There is one more example of an unwonted situation for ordinary elections. The plenums and conferences of public organizations will naturally discuss the state of work in these organizations and determine the mandates for the future deputies, which will inevitably affect the candidates' programs and their own activity. Yet the law bans any criticism of candidates or agitation for them on election day. The boards of the Architects' Union and the Soviet Peace Foundation have therefore decided to discuss the society's affairs and the candidates' programs on the first day of the conference and plenum, and to devote the second day entirely to the elections. This makes it possible, in accordance with the law, to avoid any agitation "for" and "against" on the actual election day.

Many questions discussed at the session directly concerned the preparation for and holding of the 26 March elections on naval, expedition, and fishing vessels, at polar stations, and at sectorial [uchastkovyye] electoral commissions. Incidentally, all sectorial electoral commissions have already been formed, and it is merely the approval of 57 such commissions—which is being delayed in some regions affected by the disaster in Armenia—where the necessary conditions still do not exist. On the basis of the number of electoral sectors [uchastki] there will be a total of 177,779 commissions. Over 2 million people—representatives of labor collectives, public organizations, meetings at places of residence, and servicemen in military units—have been put on the staff of the electoral commissions, which is a graphic illustration of the dimensions and complexity of the work to organize and hold elections in the country.

The provision of alternate candidates, and the new democratic principles of the present election campaign, demand a detailed working out of all the features of and and procedures for voting, a consideration of its results, and the possible organization of a repeat ballot and of repeat elections, as well as the preconsidered solution of many other new problems which will be arising for the first time. That is why the Central Electoral Commission session approved the text of the letter of instruction "On the work of the okrug electoral commissions for the elections of USSR people's deputies on the eve of election day and on election day of 26 March 1989."

During the customary hearing—traditional for sessions of the Central Electoral Commission—of working people's comments and proposals (the commission has already received over 7,000) the question of the standard of debate at election meetings and during election agitation raised particularly strong interest. In agitating for their candidates, agents and voters can express different views of candidacies and of particular positions in their programs and statements. This, the session stressed, is a normal phenomenon—the clash of interests and different opinions and proposals. We must be tolerant of criticism and bear in mind that on the basis of the law, citizens have the right to agitate for and against a candidate.

But this right is far from always used in the interests of democracy: There are examples of group egotism, and of tendentiousness and prejudice in individual assessments of "adversaries." The speakers said that under no circumstances must we allow the dignity of candidate deputies to be publicly humiliated, or allow the offensive methods of suppressing opponents or the infiltration of rumors and stories into the auditorium to be used. The election struggle must be waged within the framework of socialist morality, on the basis of the principles of respect for the honor and dignity of every Soviet person. And the okrug electoral commissions, our Soviet organizations, and all those working in the election campaign today must constantly bear that in mind, and demand strict observance of the laws in the agitation media and at election meetings.

A. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Yu. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Union, and the leaders of public organizations and representatives of the mass media took part in the commission session.

Marathon Meeting 'Tests' New Election System

PM2802112389 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 2

[A. Morozov report under the rubric "26 March—Elections of USSR People's Deputies: Reports From Election Campaign Meetings": "Voroshilovskiy Okrug: A Decision Arrived at Through Debate"]

[Text] There can be no doubt that, when the time comes to analyze the experience of the current election campaign, okrug meetings will be remembered as one of its decisive stages. Passions were heated at the meeting in Voroshilovskiy No 6 Territorial Electoral Okrug. There were nine candidates to be discussed there at the same time: Yu. Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow State Historical Archive Institute; N. Volkov, chief of the No 22 Intercity Communications and Television Territorial Production Association; USSR Minister B. Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy; Yu. Kozlov, teacher at the No 85 School; historian, philosopher, and writer R. Medvedev; K. Razumova, laboratory chief at

the I.V. Kurchatov Nuclear Power Institute; Academician A. Sakharov; V. Titov, lecturer at the V.V. Kuybyshev Military Engineering Academy, who was nominated by a microrayon residents' meeting; and USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy L. Shurygina, section chief at the No 79 Polyclinic.

Over 500 persons assembled on that day to make their choice. They included 250 representing the labor collectives which nominated candidates, 10 participants in meetings which nominated candidates at places of residence, and 320 rayon voters who had not taken part in the nominations.

It was not easy to make this choice. The meeting started at 1500 hours and finished at 0030 the next morning. The candidates' programs were heard. Some of them did not attend in person but sent their agents along. A. Sakharov's statement in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI was discussed. Nevertheless, the meeting deemed that it could not be accepted as a juridical document and, since the electoral commission had not received a personal statement from the candidate, those present decided to let his name stand on the list of contenders.

The "procedural" debate took a long time. How much time should be given to candidates to answer questions? When should the questions be asked—right after each candidate's speech, or only after they had all spoken? It was agreed that it was necessary to change the meeting's chairman every 2 hours. Trivialities? No, the atmosphere at the meeting testified to the participants' desire to adhere as far as possible to the principle of the maximum possible democracy.

The spirit of the debate was manifested as soon as two contentious questions clashed. Should there be a block vote for all the "nine" to be registered as candidate deputies from Voroshilovskiy Electoral Okrug, in other words should the rayon's residents be given an opportunity to make their own choice by direct vote on 26 March? Or should the decision as to which of the contenders were the most deserving be made right there? Arguments became so acute that the microphones in the audience were surrounded by crowds of people trying to grab them from each other's hands.

But, no matter how heated the electioneering debate, the main point was never overshadowed. Discussion centered on the problems of the country, the city, and the rayon. On the nature of the future supreme organ of power, the course it will pursue, and the accountability of people's deputies to the voters.

Many "sore spots" in our reality came to the surface during the presentation of election platforms. There was reference, in particular, to the need for urgent additional work on the Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Onerous deductions from enterprises' profits by higher-ranking organizations apply the brakes on economic accountability and bring it into disrepute. Is there any guarantee that the higher echelons of power will not resort again to past practices like the authoritarian form of management?

There was acute discussion on the Afghan topic. Have we learned the proper lessons from the past? The power to make decisions on the use of military force in external actions should be vested exclusively in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies—that was one of the opinions expressed.

According to another opinion, work must be continued on declassifying archives containing society's social memory. Proposals were made to create USSR Supreme Soviet commissions to monitor the activity of the Defense Ministry, the KGB, and other organizations. It was suggested that restrictions be imposed on the acquisition of country homes by city dwellers, that cooperatives be encouraged to take on school sponsorships, and that a system of economic accountability be set up for the legal profession.

The general idea was: to strengthen the prestige of soviets of people's deputies.

But who was to be given preference? The contenders succeeded one another at the rostrum, and it was hard to determine whether anyone had succeeded in gaining an "absolute majority."

Questions also had to be answered. There were plenty of them, both written and verbal. A line formed by the audience microphones in the hall. Only a few of the nominees were residents of the rayon. Were they not likely to overlook the voters? Or, how did candidates perceive the imbalances existing in society as regards the distribution of material wealth? Did they themselves enjoy any advantages? A reform of the criminal law was being worked on, but was a humanization of that law likely to lead to a rise in crime?

Questions... Answers... The candidates did not find it easy to immediately get their bearings, and people noticed even the slightest "slip" or insincerity. For example, a candidate suggested lifting all restrictions on the allocation of dacha plots to urban residents. Fine, but what does he feel about giving rural residents an opportunity to freely acquire urban housing? A legitimate question indeed, the contender thought. But while there are quite a few simply neglected homes and abandoned and unused plots in the countryside, the situation in the city is different. In his opinion, this presentation of the problem in principle would become possible only after the implementation of the priority program for supplying every family with a separate apartment.

Only an isolated example, of course, but numerous similar situations developed. There were even outbursts of verbal conflict.

Some of these clashes were quickly extinguished, others led to further debate. They lasted through midnight—many people wished to speak.

A vote was finally taken. It was unanimously decided to hold an open ballot. And the majority was in favor of submitting all candidates for registration.

The most crucial stage is still to come. The rayon's residents have to express their opinion, and there are 250,000 of them in this electoral okrug. So, there are direct elections ahead. But what about the okrug meeting? All those hours of heated debate, and its participants simply failed to make a selection?

It seems that we still have to learn democracy. The new Law on Elections is undergoing practical tests for the first time. Is it perfect? This question was repeatedly raised by participants in the Voroshilovskiy Electoral Okrug meeting. It was repeatedly suggested that the candidates who are honored by becoming people's deputies should assist in the work of improving the new electoral system. They should also concentrate their energy on the demolition of old and obsolete forms of society's management and their replacement by a new and democratic mechanism.

PRAVDA Report on Medvedev Speech in Minsk

PM0203131189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Firmly Following the Course of Renewal"]

[Text] Minsk, 1 Mar—How to accelerate progress and increase the effectiveness and fruitfulness of the processes of restructuring was the main topic at today's meeting between V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and representatives of Belorussia's party and social organizations and labor collectives.

The meeting was opened by Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

The speakers—P.K. Kravchenko, secretary of Minsk Belorussian Communist Party Gorkom; I.V. Kurbatskiy, lathe and drill operator at the Minsk Automatic Lines Plant; V.B. Vernikovskiy, general director of the "Luch" Footwear Production Association in Minsk; G.T. Milovanov, first deputy chairman of the republican War and Labor Veterans Council; and A.F. Vishnevskaya, leader of a comprehensive team at the Minsk Industrial Housing Construction Production Association—and the other speakers expressed total support for the restructuring implemented by the party. Self-critically assessing their own work, analyzing the unsolved problems, and expressing their attitude toward particular phenomena in the life of the country and the republic, they spoke of the specific measures in their spheres of activity that can increase their contribution to renewing our society's life. A businesslike mood and a desire not to give in to difficulties but to march forward could be sensed from their speeches.

V.A. Medvedev addressed the meeting.

The country, he said, is becoming increasingly deeply involved in the process of transformation. Work that will determine the country's fate for many years and even decades to come is developing increasingly actively in the huge social expanse of our society.

In essence a new, more dynamic and inspired society is emerging before our very eyes, a society that lives and works differently from the way it did just a few years ago, assesses its past and present more accurately and profoundly, and is building the future. It is a society that is constantly in motion.

The present election campaign is a vivid example of that. This is the first time a campaign has been so lively, remote from formalism, and turbulent. At its center, along with deputies' specific programs and voters' mandates, are questions that can be said to be vital and fundamental: the paths of further development of our society and the means, pace, and methods of implementing restructuring.

After dwelling on the complexity and contradictoriness of the period of socioeconomic development that we are going through, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee devoted considerable attention to "burning" problems of the economy and Soviet people's well-being. If you take the economy as a whole, in all the diversity of the processes of its restructuring, he noted, it can confidently be stated that progressive shifts have not only emerged but are already producing certain results.

For the first time in the history of the Soviet economy an absolute reduction in the number of working people employed in industry and the whole material production sphere has begun. Yet production growth rates have increased. Over the past 2 years there has been movement in housing construction and in the development of the services sphere. More food and industrial goods are being produced and sold than before. This is confirmed by objective figures, including for Belorussia.

A reasonable question arises: How come leaders talk about increases, but the people see no sign of them? Doesn't this indicate a wish to varnish reality, isn't it the customary window dressing?

Answering these questions, the speaker pointed out that the incipient improvements in the economy still are not always carried through to the end results, to an improved situation in the social sphere. A great deal is lost at various intermediate stages because of mismanagement,

waste, and poor quality. Moreover, the increase in production of consumer goods and services has been devalued because of the imbalance and disorderliness of the market and the continued existence of shortages.

This last fact embodies one of the main and most burning problems of the present economic situtation—the problem of the unbalanced nature of the market and the disruption of money circulation and the country's finances. This problem did not arise only today, it was inherited from the period of stagnation, at the point when vodka revenue decreased and the flow of foreign currency which had poured into the country after the sharp increase in oil prices on the world market in the seventies began to dry up. More goods are reaching the market, but the mounting flow of money is literally licking them off the shelves.

It is now necessary to substantially change economic priorities and to bring to the fore the normalization of the consumer market and an improvement in the financial health of the national economy. Appropriate decisions have been adopted, V.A. Medvedev said. These are the major steps to increase goods resources and services for the population; the decrease in the number of new construction starts and the resolute reduction in unfinished construction; the further cutting of management expenditure; the substantial adjustment of foreign trade policy; and, finally, the major reduction of defense spending without detriment to the country's defense capability.

Even previously we used to talk a great deal about the need for a most stringent policy of thrift. We did not economize on talk of economy. But now we cannot get away with mere talk. Life is harshly compelling us to analyze all components of our economic activity from the angle of thrift and of increasing the effectiveness of expenditure.

Going on to dwell on questions of the economic reform, the secretary of the party Central Committee stressed that essentially we are only now approaching the main question: the transformation of socialist ownership relations. This process is finding progress tricky. Just look at the arguments raging over leasing and cooperatives, he said. And these are just a start.

It is only via profound transformations of ownership that the most burning problem today—the food problem—can be solved. All obstacles must be swept out of the way of applying the most efficient methods and forms of socialist agricultural production. There are still many cases where people who have switched to the lease and family contract have to contend with bureaucratic hostility, attempts to destroy equipment and farm buildings belonging to them, and envious people who are accustomed to wage-leveling and freeloading.

Of course, it is impossible to permit the forcible implantation of new forms of organization of agricultural production, just as it is impossible to permit attempts to introduce farfetched innovations and artificially "transform" forms which have proven their worth.

The deepening of the economic transformations that have been started is forcing us to reassess over and over again the question of their connection with the fundamental principles of socialism and Marxist-Leninist theory. After all, resistance to restructuring in the economy and hostility to the changes are often camouflaged with moss-grown, dogmatic ideas and ritual invocations of the lofty concepts to which people's real needs and requirements have been sacrificed.

You have to be a hopeless doctrinaire to regard formally wider limits of socialization of ownership, regardless of the nature and forms of production relations—economic accountability, leasing, cooperatives, the contract—nowadays as a higher stage in the development of production. I would describe this as nothing but socialist scholasticism. Was it not on the basis of depersonalized ownership that the use of [public] property for personal gain flourished and the attitude viewing it as belonging to no one became established?

In this connection the speaker touched on the question of the compatibility of the market and socialism. The market, he noted, can be built into the most diverse socioeconomic systems and can serve them efficiently. It is a flexible instrument for coordinating economic activity that ensures that production reacts swiftly to changing requirements and provides effective incentives to efficient economic management. Attempts to do without it for the sake of the "purity of the socialist idea" inevitably result in a swelling of the bureaucratic apparatus, dominance of the supplier over the consumer, and flourishing monopolism.

The progress and key problems of the reform of the political system occupied much space in the speech. It was stressed that the reform is unthinkable without profound changes in the life of the party itself. Indeed, such changes are the core of the political reform.

In a society that is renewing itself a party that is renewing itself must operate—operate as a political vanguard imparting a general direction to development, but not as a force directly controlling absolutely everything. The party must learn to live and work in a society permeated by democratic principles, a society in which a turbulent process of the politicization of the masses is under way and in which other social organizations and movements also operate.

In our society there is every opportunity to create a system of social institutions and organizations and of associations that is broad and ramified enough to give adequate and flexible expression to the multitude of

healthy social, professional, age-group, and other interests. If the party is beneath the democratic control of the people, conducts constant dialogue with them, and itself bases its activity on democratic principles, there is every opportunity to solve all the problems that arise via critical analysis, the comparison of views, and the struggle of opinions.

The party is open both to internal debates and to the discussion of any questions with all social organizations and movements and with the nonparty masses. It cannot be otherwise. However, this presupposes that healthy principles be clearly separated from bogus antisocial aims, not to mention extremist actions—the imposition of views alien to working people's interests and attempts beneath the guise of democracy to resort to methods of pressure and diktat and to sow enmity and mistrust.

Much complex and responsible work lies ahead for us. And if we are unable to unite all healthy forces and orient them toward resolving creative tasks, if the interests of particular groups, strata, and clans are substituted for the interests of the country as a whole, if ambitions begin to swamp responsibility and unrestrained emotions begin to swamp the voice of reason, irreparable damage may be caused to restructuring.

The party does not lay claim to a monopoly in seeking the best paths of social progress, it does not believe that it possesses the ultimate truth. But Communists have something to defend firmly and adamantly. Namely our socialist values, our socialist choice, and our commitment to the ideas of social justice and of ensuring a better life for all Soviet people.

In the new conditions, V.A. Medvedev went on, new demands are also made of ideological work. And, of course, chiefly of the people who conduct that work.

Previously, at the time when administrative edict methods predominated, ideological work essentially merely aided the transmission of orders, mostly in just one direction: from top to bottom. Nowadays such a system of ideological activity is obsolete. In conditions of glasnost and openness no decision of any note in the spheres of the economy, social development, ecology, or scientific and technical progress can be adopted without taking public opinion into account, still less in defiance of public opinion. I need only cite the turbulent, complex, but very significant and effective public reaction on issues such as the development of the cooperative movement, the solution of a number of ecological problems, prospects for the reform of price formation, and many others.

What conclusion follows from this? It is that every decision requires not only painstaking scientific substantiation but also, and not least, the formation of public opinion in the appropriate direction and reliance on public opinion. Thus ideological work is organically interwoven with the management of social processes and becomes one of its main factors.

The monologue so familiar in ideological work in the past is today being supplanted by broad social dialogue. One-way communications from top to bottom are being replaced by two-way communications including a returning flow of information reflecting the people's opinion, will, and collective reason.

The management of the ideological process itself is undergoing fundamental change also. The use of methods based on issuing edicts, issuing permission and prohibitions, must particularly be ruled out here. Issuing instructions, exerting pressure, permitting this, prohibiting that—ideological work cannot rely on such methods. It must rely on the force of persuasion, arguments, and political influence. Not the holding of this or that routine propaganda event but participation in open discussion with people, in political struggle, in upholding the party's position and opinion in a principled fashion—that is what is now becoming the content of ideological education work and party propaganda.

The state of the ideological sphere today is such that there is a broad spread of opinions, judgments, and viewpoints on various issues in the press, on television, and at meetings and rallies. In this connection there are voices, sometimes very insistent voices, demanding a ban and tougher control.

The party position on this score is well known: We will continue to travel the path of democratizing ideological processes and expanding and deepening glasnost and socialist pluralism of opinions. But precisely socialist pluralism, the criterion of which is the interests of the peoples and loyalty to the socialist choice, the Leninist ideological and theoretical legacy, and the international unity and friendship of our country's peoples. Those are the positions from which the party will conduct ideological work.

The speech reflected an exceptionally important task facing the entire ideological front and the entire party—the formulation of a modern concept of socialism. Of course, it is not a matter of stating what point we will reach when and what we will have when we reach it. It is a matter of making headway in comprehending the philosophical and methodological problems of socialism's development, having a store of major economic and social ideas for the future, and formulating the goals of the socialist society, thereby creating the conditions for reaching increasingly high levels of social consciousness.

Questions of interethnic relations occupy a special place in the course of the restructuring and renewal of our society and in the party activity, of course, the speaker

went on. The most controversial of these questions are probably the problems of language, republican economic accountability, and conservation of the environment.

Restructuring has dumped the great-power opinion that concern for a national language is something suspicious or even a nationalist idea and that it is both "more progressive" and "more convenient" to have fewer languages. Our principled program is to provide the broadest scope for the objective processes of the development of the USSR peoples' languages and to provide guarantees—juridical, political, economic, and social guarantees—for that development, not allowing any administrative pressure here. Of course, the problems of one national language cannot be solved at the expense of another, at the expense of one culture's isolation from another.

Questions of economic relations among republics and between republics and the center and problems of republican economic accountability are now being widely discussed. The introduction of republican economic accountability, the speech emphasized, is a demand of the time and of the laws of economic development. But, of course, this must not lead to regional isolation, autarky, and work for oneself alone.

Touching on problems of environmental conservation, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that public opinion today is keeping economic and planning organs under tough pressure with regard to the construction of national economic projects which entail a potential risk of damage to nature and people's health. The country's leadership views with understanding the concerns of the public at large in this regard.

At the same time attention was drawn to the fact that there are often protests at virtually any industrial construction on people's "own" territory. Clearly, there is a need here for every decision to be scientifically substantiated and well considered and for the strictest responsibility on the part of all sides: both those responsible for the siting and construction of industrial enterprises and power stations and those who take on the role of correcting force. A modern economy cannot be built on windmills. So joint work and mutual understanding are needed. And, of course, there must be no place for the transfer of ecological problems to the dimension of social or interethnic conflicts. This will help neither living nature nor people.

The party is convinced: A solution of the complex problems of interethnic relations is impossible without [vne] restructuring. But restructuring itself cannot be implemented without cooperation, collaboration, and unity among our country's peoples.

After going on to make a thorough analysis of the fundamental changes in the Soviet state's international policy, V.A. Medvedev stressed in conclusion: The upcoming elections of people's deputies and the entire election campaign will certainly teach us a great deal, indeed, they are already teaching us. They are a real political school, a school of democracy. A school both for leaders of all ranks and for all citizens. Every Soviet person has a real opportunity to influence the fate of the country, of our whole union.

One thing is clear today: There are no supernumeraries either among the voters or among the candidates for people's deputy. Today they are all protagonists in effective democracy and restructuring. Every vote in these elections is a decisive vote.

V.A. Medvedev answered questions.

While he was in Minsk 27 February-1 March V.A. Medvedev visited the "Integral" Production Association. It is one of the most important elements of the scientific and technical complex that has taken shape in Belorussia. Its collective works confidently and enterprisingly. Success is greatly promoted by new forms of labor organization. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee visited a shop where until recently 1,500 people worked, but only around 700 now work.

The association has created a model of powerful portable computer designed for the widest range of users—from schoolchildren to academicians. But last year only 2,000 of them were produced. The market is waiting for perhaps 400,000-500,000 per year. Attention was particularly focused on the problem of constructing a new plant for this purpose at a meeting with the association's party-economic aktiv.

There was a keen discussion of the party organization's work and the course of the election campaign.

V.A. Medvedev asked about the social and consumer service conditions of the enterprise's working people and visited the public catering combine.

During a visit to the Minsk Radiotechnical Institute he was shown new developments by the collective. In particular, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was shown a schoolroom equipped with personal computers. Such a classroom with 13-14 computers on which children can study information science and computer technology is within the reach of any school.

In conversation with representatives of the institute collective V.A. Medvedev spoke of the path which higher education must travel in the immediate future.

His visit to the Belorussian Exhibition of National Economic Achievements developed into a thorough discussion of the problems of modern production.

An exchange of opinions on the place and role of the creative intelligentsia in the processes of restructuring was held during the CPSU Central Committee secretary's meeting with leaders and members of the republic's creative unions. He dwelt on certain characteristic aspects of the ideological situation in the country at the present stage and stressed that the party cannot conceive of restructuring without harmonious collaboration with the intelligentsia.

The speeches by representatives of Belorussia's various creative fields—literature, art, theater, cinema, and music—raised questions of enhancing the spirituality and morality of our society and reinterpreting the history of the party and Soviet state. During the meeting there was mention of the need to strengthen people's faith in the correctness of what the CPSU is now doing.

Problems of the development of Belorussian national culture were raised and attention was drawn to the need to strengthen its material and technical base. Touching on the topic of interethnic relations, the speakers noted that the Belorussian people, while remaining great patriots of their own land, history, and culture, are essentially internationalists and live harmoniously within the fraternal family of USSR peoples.

The meeting is convincing evidence, V.A. Medvedev noted, that the republic's intelligentsia, its creative detachment, shares the concerns of the country and restructuring. A healthy basis exists here for successful development of the processes of renewal.

The discussion of problems of ideological and theoretical support for restructuring, mass political work, and the formation of public opinion in a spirit of loyalty to socialist values was continued at a meeting with the republic's ideological aktiv. G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and M.V. Kovalev, chairman of the republic's council of ministers, took part in the meeting.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary had a conversation with members and candidate members of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

During his visit to the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, in conversation with the scientists V.A. Medvedev was told about priority directions in basic science support for Belorussia's national economy. Urgent questions of the development of research in the republic and the strengthening of its influence on processes of restructuring in the economic and social spheres were discussed.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin memorial in Minsk.

V.A. Medvedev was accompanied by Ye.Ye. Sokolov during his stay.

Former Name of Andropov Town Restored

LD0303094689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0936 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Mar (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers have supported proposals from the working people of Yaroslavl Oblast to restore the name of the town of Rybinsk.

Point two of the decision of the CPSU Central Committee, of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and of the USSR Council of Ministers of 23 February 1984, in the section renaming Rybinsk as Andropov town, is repealed.

KGB Presence at Enterprises Described

PM0203123589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: " 'In the Light of Glasnost'"; first paragraph is quotation from MARIYSKAYA PRAVDA]

[Text] "To be frank, you can frequently hear it said that there are undercover KGB staffers in almost every large collective. Please describe how far the concept of glasnost accords with the activity of the state security system?"

"...In accordance with the USSR Constitution every citizen must render the necessary aid and assistance in safeguarding state security, and the overwhelming majority of people to whom we have to turn for such aid are eager to give it to us. As for staffers, our operations personnel act openly and many people know them. In addition there is the so-called institute of nonstaff KGB workers within the KGB system. It is these workers who mainly operate at large enterprises, and there are not many of them. The activity of nonstaff workers is regulated by the relevant clause.

"The KGB organs have always viewed and continue to view the organization of work with their written and verbal comments as one form of citizens' participation in safeguarding state security."

From the replies of A.P. Burakov, chairman of the Mari ASSR KGB, to questions put by the newspaper MARIYSKAYA PRAVDA (29 January).

Moscow Internal Affairs Head Interviewed

PM0203161789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Lieutenant General P.S. Bogdanov, chief of Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration and newly appointed deputy internal affairs minister, by L. Kislinskaya: "No 38 Petrovka Street—Without the Secrets"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] Moscow—Our interview began with congratulations. The day before, Lieutenant General P.S. Bogdanov, chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs

Main Administration, had been confirmed in the post of USSR deputy minister of internal affairs.

What is the reason for this?—this was the TASS correspondent's first question.

[Bogdanov] Moscow is a highly special region of the country with its 9 million inhabitants plus 3 million transit passengers every day. For people with criminal leanings there are, alas, quite a few temptations and, most important, there is the hope that they can lose themselves in the crowd. Of late the number of people flooding into the city with the aim of lining their pockets has been increasing. Last year, one-fourth of all the registered crimes had been committed by new arrivals. Particularly alarming is the increase in crimes against the person and "raids" by gangs of young hooligans from other cities.

[Kislinskaya] What additional measures are currently being adopted to improve work?

[Bogdanov] In organizational terms, the further strengthening of the internal affairs territorial organs and the extension of the rights of their leaders remains a priority. We have submitted a proposal to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and obtained backing for the reorganization of the patrol and sentry service.

Another important step in this direction is the reduction of the administrative apparatus and increased staffing of rayon sections. As an experiment, it is planned in two of the biggest rayons of the city—Kirovskiy and Krasnogvardeyskiy—to turn two-three militia sections into departments each of which will serve residential areas with a population of 120,000 to 160,000 inhabitants. And in order to ensure prompt response to reports of law violations, we are setting up operational sectors on the basis of public law and order protection posts.

[Kislinskaya] In recent years one of the particularly alarming problems besetting the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs system has been the profession's dwindling prestige....

[Bogdanov] We are trying now to restore the former prestige of internal affairs organ staffers, including that of criminal investigation officials and especially that of the renowned Moscow Criminal Investigation Department. The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs order to improve the technical equipment of this service was well timed.

However, what our staffers need is legal protection. It will be their guarantee against "hitches." In many states which are regarded as rule-of-law states the following law applies: Three witnesses are needed to disprove a policeman's evidence. In our country the reverse applies: The evidence of a militiaman can be taken into consideration if it is backed up by three witnesses.

The elaboration of the law on the militia has clearly dragged on too long. It should also define the procedure for the application of special means and equipment during public order violations and cases of gross insubordination. Bearing in mind the specificity of the work of internal affairs organs, it is necessary to lay down for their staffers the limits of justified defense and what constitutes an absolute necessity. After all, last year alone the number of attacks on militiamen with the aim of acquiring weapons doubled in comparison with the previous year.

To a certain extent the prestige of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department is to be enhanced by a new subdivision, set up especially to combat organized crime. Criminal investigation has accumulated considerable experience in combatting this phenomenon. Now staffers of the Main Administration for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, investigation organs, the patrol and sentry service, and State Automobile Inspection are to join this battle.

Work to institute criminal proceedings against people engaging in racketeering has been considerably stepped up. Now that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has passed the decree on "The introduction of amendments and additions to the RSFSR Criminal Code," which makes provision for a new edition of the articles on extortion, people who have been subjected to this are turning to law enforcement organs more frequently. In reaction to their statements we are adopting all the necessary measures.

[Kislinskaya] Why is it that the cooperative movement has failed to give society what was expected of it, and has, on the whole, introduced quite a few additional negative trends in the life of the city?

[Bogdanov] This is due to the fact that dishonest people have infiltrated this movement. They are obtaining unjustifiably high profits. Hence the blackmail and racketeering.

Ensuring proper control over cooperative workers' incomes is not just our task. A powerful tax inspection service exists in all countries and provides a considerable income for the state.

We are confronted with the serious problem of a rising number of speculators and other dealers who are exploiting our economic difficulties. Despite the fact that administrative measures have been applied to 43,000 people for law violations of this kind, the situation has not changed for the better. There have been cases of the same people being detained up to 80 times in the course of a year for illegal trade and getting away with R10 fines a time. Therefore we consider it necessary to sharply increase the fines and to confiscate goods in such cases.

Another problem we have encountered in conditions of goods shortages is the growing number of cases where goods are withheld from the open market and sold under the counter.

And another thing. Of late, the currently much vaunted principle of the "presumption of innocence" is interpreted rather as "presumption of all-forgiveness." It has to be noted that in very many cases unjustifiably lenient measures are being applied to people accused of serious crimes.

Distortions in legal practice in recent years have resulted in both victims and defendants denying everything in court. And the same applies to witnesses. At the same time, the court takes these denials on trust, which leads to a devaluation of the evidence collected by the investigation.

Sometimes people who have violated the law and have managed to evade responsibility are now becoming all but "pioneers of restructuring." Some complain about the militia, the prosecutor's office, or the press in an effort to discourage people from fighting for justice. Others invest their "dirty" money in legal business and cooperatives. There are many alarming instances of this kind. And when people in such cases ask indignantly: "What is the militia doing?"—the correct answer probably is that this trend cannot be overcome through the efforts of law enforcement organs alone.

[Kislinskaya] Many of the questions you have raised Petr Stepanovich, can be resolved in conditions of glasnost. What is your attitude toward stripping away the secrecy surrounding the work of internal affairs organs?

[Bogdanov] Glasnost is one of the important gains of democratization. We can resolve many serious questions in cooperation with the press. Regularly, once a week, we meet with journalists and reply to their questions. No 38 Petrovka Street presents itself without secrets.

From every critical article we try to learn a lesson even if the author's stance is not entirely objective.

As for acts of treachery and corruption on the part of individual staffers, we show them no mercy.

[Kislinskaya] And the last question. Tell us a little about yourself.

[Bogdanov] I have headed the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration since September 1986. Frankly speaking, prior to that I had no contact with the militia. I worked at the Lyublino foundry and engineering plant. I became a party official. Later I worked at the USSR KGB and the CPSU Central Committee apparatus. Before my transfer to the Internal Affairs Main Administration I headed the "Dinamo" All-Union Physical Culture and Sports Society.

I must say that heading an internal affairs main administration is not just a responsible job, it is also an extremely difficult one. Experience in dealing with people helps, of course. But it is also necessary to be aware of the specific features of the work of all subdivisions. It is necessary to adopt operationally and tactically correct decisions and avoid mistakes. You cannot be indifferent in this job.

TASS Analyst Views 27th CPSU Congress

LD2402023989 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—By TASS analyst Boris Prokhorov:

The three years which have passed since the 27th congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union have changed the political and social life of the Soviet Union. It is difficult even to enumerate everything new that appeared in the Soviet Union after the historic party congress.

The Communist Party started the renovation process with itself. The congress discussed the struggle for a pure and earnest party member, the necessity of realising a collective principle in party life, of developing criticism and self-criticism and of the need to eliminate uncontrolled party organisations. There are no such organisations in the party now. The degenerated party authorities were dismissed and punished. The 19th party conference showed a new approach to collectivism and collective leadership and the recent election campaigns almost totally renewed party committee personnel—real supporters of perestroyka became the leaders.

The broading of glasnost is a political question, the party congress said in 1986. Today we can't even imagine our life under different circumstances. There are no questions and problems in the country (with the exception of state and military secrets spheres, of course) which are not discussed freely and openly at all levels.

The 27th Party Congress decided that progress is impossible without the further development of social democracy and social self-government. Now we are witnessing an active movement in this direction and concrete steps of democratic political reform. The brightest realisation of these steps may be the present election campaign. For the first time the Soviet people are really electing their representatives to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the highest body of state power. The election campaign for USSR People's Deputies has become a real "school of democracy" for the Soviet people.

Soviet society drew serious conclusions from the "lesson of truth" about which Mikhail Gorbachev spoke at the 27th Party Congress. The truth was told about old and not so old periods of the country's 70 year history. And present circumstances were also assessed objectively.

It would be naive to think it possible to complete in a few years everything that was planned by the 27th Party congress in the sphere of social and political development. But we are making the first steps in this direction. There is a lot of work to be done. But what have already achieved shows that the Soviet people are heading in the right direction, a direction which was charted by the 27th Party Congress.

Babenko Appointed Deputy Chairman in RSFSR

LD0203214789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Babenko deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Negative Letters on Ukraine Restructuring Movement

AU0203140389 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 3

[Editorial Report] Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian on 22 February carries on page 3 a 3,500-word selection of letters to the editor, all concerning the publication of the draft program of the "People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring." Published under the banner headline "Voices from the Field: Who Needs That?", the selection opens with the following boxed introduction: **"Our newspaper has already published the first readers' responses to the draft program of the 'People's Movement of the Ukraine,' which, after the criticism at the Kiev writers meeting and in the mass media, was substantially reformulated and published in the republic's literary newspaper. There were also television and radio broadcasts dedicated to the draft program. The number of letters with responses is continuing to grow. More than a hundred of them have been received in the last 2 days alone. The main question asked by the readers is: 'Who needs this movement?' We have a clear program set for restructuring by the party, the people have accepted this program and are putting it into effect. And the draft program of the far-fetched 'movement,' proposed by a group of Kiev men of letters, only breeds confusion in the clear-cut program for restructuring."**

All seven published letters are negative about the draft program, and either defend the current "Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism" and the "right of the parents to freely choose the language in which their children are to be taught" at school, or question the need for a "people's movement" altogether. One of the published letters, in particular, reads:

"Why should we lock ourselves up in our national apartments? If Lenin were alive, he would have said: Comrades, mind your own business and see to it that there is bread and something on the top of it, and it does not matter whether the bread is called 'khleb' [in Russian], or 'khlib' [in Ukrainian]. What matters is to have it. Would we Ukrainians be happy to see or hear a notice telling us in our native language 'nema khliba' ['there is no bread']?

[Signed] Ye. Garbuz, Berdichev, Zhitomir Oblast."

Ukrainian Protest Against Shcherbitskiy Reported

LD0103133989 Vatican City International Service in Lithuanian 0430 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Summary] Newspapers in the West report that thousands of Ukrainians gathered in the Revolution Square in Kiev during the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev demanding that Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, be fired. He is the only remaining member of the Politburo appointed by Brezhnev.

The meeting in Kiev was organized by the Ukrainian People's Front and other informal movements.

The Soviet television coverage of Gorbachev's visit to the Ukraine did not mention the demonstration in Kiev demanding Shcherbitskiy's removal.

Estonian Official on Citizenship, Nationhood

LD0203142089 Tallin RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 16 Feb 89 p 1,2

[Article by Mikk Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Settlers will definitely find it hard to accept the blue, black, and white as the state flag of Soviet Estonia. It must be explained to them what it means, it must be explained that one deals with a flag and an anthem which belonged to the people first and were thereafter adopted as symbols of the Estonian Republic, there were indeed discussions and debates in the past, too, There were many discussion in the twenties. At the time it was a political decision. For the new awakening of the Estonians we must restore our historical symbols.

If the settlers begin to identify with Estonia and wish to become citizens of our republic, they must also accept our symbols. If they do not wish to, it is quite possible that they identify themselves with the union and use the symbols of the union. The problem of citizenship is similar: we will not indeed force anybody to take on Estonian SSR citizenship. A section of those who have come to live here may view living here as something temporary. They all indeed have have roots somewhere, either in Russia, the Ukraine, or Belorussia; and there are their ancient sources. One can indeed live here without being a citizen of our republic.

One need not accept our symbols either but one must respect them. That is also a question of culture. The next step is of course to establish citizenship. Naturally,

Estonians living in Estonia are Estonian SSR citizens. From there on things go according to human rights and the practice of international law: Everybody who was born here has a right to our citizenship. Late settlers who have not adapted themselves in the cultural environment nor adopted to any degree a special association of the land and the people with which one wants to belong, need to apply for citizenship individually, as in all countries of the world.

In Moscow it has been understood completely unambigously that for Estonians, being a small nation, the question of the future is of crucial importance: Will Estonians be in the majority in their ancient land or not? There cannot be equality between all nations in our ancient area. There can be equality between the people as individuals; the rights of citizens are, of course, equal but the rights of a nation are something else. In Estonia the preservation of Estonians is the fundamental question and the establishing of citizenship here before anywhere else emanated directly for the danger threatening Estonians. We must combat this danger before it becomes reality.

Philosophical discussion about the security of the future of Estonians, about us having schools, culture, and symbols of all kinds, is not serious talk. The question is the size of the nation and the proportion of the nation in its ancient area. If this is disturbed, assimilation will take place with the bigger nation, first and foremost with Russians. With their numbers alone they will begin to dominate. And that is dangerous to us. The Russian people will not gain anything with a million russified Estonians but the Estonian people will lose everything. Citizenship and state language are the necessary defense of the Estonians against the consequences of the Stalinist nationalities policy. It would be extremely irresponsible to say that this is a privilege for Estonians. Russians, as a big nation, will manage anywhere throughout the union with their language and their culture, and that is a big natural advantage which they have been using all along. But a small nation also wants to stay, and when necessary, will use political means for this. [passage omitted]

Latvian Resolution To Regulate Migration Process
PM0203144989 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 2

["Resolution No 46, On Measures To Arrest the Unjustified Mechanical Growth of the Population and to Regulate Migration Processes in the Latvian SSR," dated Riga 14 February 1989 and carried under the rubric "In the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the Latvian Republican Trade Unions Council"]

[Text] The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the Latvian Republican Trade Unions Council note that the unjustified mechanical growth of the republic's population numbers expanded considerably over the last few years to reach over 200,000 persons in 1971-1988, this being almost double the population's natural growth. The Latvian SSR's mechanical growth coefficient is the highest among union republics. It is especially high in the city of Riga, where over one-third of all the republic's inhabitants now live.

A number of economic leaders do not follow the intensive path of development through the retooling of production and the introduction of new resource-saving technologies which release workforce. There is only slow activation of additional reserves for boosting labor productivity through the application of new and progressive forms of labor organization and incentives and the improved training of workers. Inadequate attention is given to improving the workers' working and living conditions, this being a factor contributing to high labor turnover. The monitoring of labor discipline has slackened. There has been virtually no decline in the amount of working time lost through absenteeism, stoppages, illness, and sundry distractions from production.

The Latvian SSR ministries, state committees, and departments and the associations, enterprises, institutions, and organizations do not study the long-term demand for specialist cadres, including those needed for the assimilation of new techniques and technologies, and planning work for the satisfaction of their needs is done without a scientifically substantiated approach.

The numerical strength of enterprises' workforce and the creation of new jobs are planned without any coordination with the republic's existing labor resources. The territorial balances of labor resources play an inadequate role in this process.

The majority of enterprises fail to take measures to create a teaching base for the training of cadres from among the local population. It is still the practice to make up cadre numbers through the unjustified recruitment of manpower from other cities and rayons in the country which basically also have an adverse balance of labor resources, and there are instances of jobs being given to citizens without residence permits.

The high level of the population's mechanical growth overloads the social infrastructure, complicates the solution of questions concerning the provision of housing, food supplies, and educational, health care, and cultural institutions for the population, and hinders the organization of medical, municipal, consumer service, trade, and transportation services for the republic's inhabitants.

With a view to making rational use of existing labor resources, arresting the unjustified mechanical growth of the population, and regulating migration processes in the republic—as advocated by the majority of inhabitants and by delegates to the Forum of Latvia's Peoples—the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the Latvian Republican Trade Unions Council resolve that:

1. Latvian SSR ministries, state committees, and departments, rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction), and the republic's associations, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, guided by the 27th CPSU Congress directives and the 19th all-union party conference decisions on the social reorientation of the economy, must immediately implement comprehensive measures to intensify the development of national economic sectors with simultaneous reduction of the number of jobs and the prevention of any future increase, so as to put an end to the recruitment of additional workforce numbers. For this purpose, it is necessary to accelerate the introduction into production of scientific developments meeting the demands of scientific and technical progress, to fundamentally improve the organization and conditions of workers' labor and daily life, to continue work on the improvement of labor remuneration so as to retain established cadres and to sharply reduce their turnover, and to improve the system for training working cadres in the necessary vocations and specialists from among the population living in the republic.

2. With a view to arresting the unjustified mechanical growth of the Latvian SSR's population, the republic's ministries, state committees, departments, associations, enterprises, institutions, and organizations (including cooperative and public organizations), regardless of their departmental subordination, will be liable to mandatory differentiated charges payable into the nonbudget funds of rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction) and ranging between R15,000 and R25,000 in respect of every newly recruited worker arriving from outside the republic and of every member of such workers' families, while in the cities of Riga and Yurmala and in Rizhskiy Rayon such payments will be due in respect of workers arriving there to take jobs from other rayons and cities in the republic and members of their families.

The appended Procedures for the Payment and Amount of Charges Payable Into the Nonbudget Funds of Rayispolkoms and Gorispolkoms (in Cities Under Republican Jurisdiction) in Respect of Workers Recruited Outside The Latvian SSR or Outside the Cities of Riga and Yurmala and Rizhskiy Rayon are hereby ratified.

The rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction) shall apply the funds thus received to the development of the social infrastructure and housing construction, as well as to the implementation of the Food Program.

The procedures ratified by this article of the resolution do not apply to:

2.1 persons recruited by permission from rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction) for seasonal or temporary work (for a period not in excess of 6 months during any calendar year);

2.2 persons taking up jobs in the cities of Riga and Yurmala and in Rizhskiy Rayon who live in and have residence permits for these regions, and also in Bauskiy, Dobelskiy, Yelgavskiy, Ogrskiy, and Tukumskiy Rayons and in the city of Yelgava;

2.3 young specialists who are graduates from higher, secondary specialized, and vocational and technical education establishments and permanent residents of the republic, when taking up jobs in their specialized field, and also (until 1992) young specialists in fields for which training is not yet available in the republic;

2.4 persons elected or appointed to office in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the Latvian Republican Trade Unions Council, and the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee;

2.5 persons who have formerly been permanent residents (for not less than 10 years) of the Latvian SSR or of the territories of the cities of Riga and Yurmala and Rizhskiy Rayon, who are resuming permanent residence;

2.6 persons of indigenous nationality arriving from outside the republic and rehabilitated citizens who used to live in the Latvian SSR;

2.7 persons arriving in the Latvian SSR as a result of housing accommodation exchanges, provided that the number of persons arriving in the republic is not greater than the number of those departing.

These procedures do not apply to members of the families of persons listed in subparagraphs 2.3-2.6 of this paragraph, or to persons arriving in the Latvian SSR for family reunification.

3. In conformity with the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)," whenever rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction) coordinate the workforce numbers sections of draft plans with associations, enterprises, and organizations, they should keep them in line with the availability of labor resources and should proceed from the need to intensify production, accelerate the social development of respective territories, and solve priority tasks in this sphere.

The appended Procedures for Restricting Workforce Numbers in Rayons and in Cities Under Republican Jurisdiction are hereby ratified.

As of 1989, associations, enterprises, organizations, and institutions on the Latvian SSR's territory, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction, will be liable to mandatory annual charges amounting to R20,000 and payable into the nonbudget funds of rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction) in respect of every worker employed over and above the established workforce number limits.

The appended Procedures for the Payment of Charges Payable Into the Nonbudget Funds of Rayispolkoms and Gorispolkoms (in Cities Under Republican Jurisdiction) for Exceeding Established Workforce Number Limits are hereby ratified.

4. Latvian SSR ministries, state committees, and departments with jurisdiction over higher, secondary specialized, and vocational and technical education establishments, as well as education establishments (branches) under union jurisdiction located on the republic's territory, should admit students and pupils only from among persons with permanent residence permits in the republic or persons sent for specialized training from other union republics.

When elaborating draft plans for the placement of young specialists, education establishments should make provisions for sending graduates who have arrived to study from other republics to work in their former place of residence.

5. With a view to satisfying the needs for specialists in fields for which training is not available in the republic, Latvian SSR ministries and departments and associations and enterprises under union jurisdictions can take advantage of the right to send persons with permanent residence permits in the Latvian SSR for specialized training in other union republics' education establishments via noncompetitive admission to first year courses, transfer to senior courses for completion of training, or exchange training on the basis of any direct contracts that have been concluded. The coordination of this work is assigned to the Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Education.

Latvian SSR ministries and departments and associations and enterprises under union jurisdiction, jointly with the Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Education, the Latvian SSR Gosplan, and other interested organizations, should elaborate by 1 July 1989 programs for providing specialists and skilled workers for enterprises and organizations in 1990 and during the 13th 5-year plan period, making provision for the creation of a teaching-material base or the reconstruction of the existing one. The coordination of this work is assigned to the Latvian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

For the purpose of training cadres for the republic, it must be deemed necessary to work on the organization of groups providing tuition in the Latvian language in all education establishments on the republic's territory, including those under union jurisdiction.

6. The Latvian SSR Gosplan, jointly with the Latvian SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection and the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute and with participation by scientists and specialists from various sectors of the republic's national economy, should elaborate by 15 March 1989 and submit to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers proposals on production cutbacks and the complete or partial relocation, closure, or conversion of ecologically harmful enterprises with poor technological standards, manufacturing output which fails to meet modern demands, or operating at a loss.

7. Latvian SSR ministries, state committees, and departments and associations, enterprises, institutions, and organizations with jurisdiction over hostels or hostel space should, jointly with the appropriate trade union organs, elaborate and ratify by 1 June 1989, in coordination with the appropriate ispolkoms, programs for the closure of dormitory and single-room hostels and their refitting as hotels or apartments, with the exception of education establishment hostels. The solution of these questions must be ensured by 1996.

Until the complete elimination of workers' hostels, it will be allowed to have hostel premises in the same block or section as apartments assigned under housing rental contracts.

Rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction) should annually set steadily declining limits on hostel occupancy until the complete elimination of hostels.

In conformity with the procedures established by law, the enterprises, institutions, and organizations should take measures to evict from hostels persons who have terminated their labor agreements with them.

8. It is prohibited to issue residence permits to citizens who have no actual housing for their use or are housed in premises which fail to meet the appropriate sanitary and technical demands.

9. Article 10 of the Provisions on the Procedure for Registering Citizens in Need of Improved Housing Conditions and for Allocating Housing Premises in the Latvian SSR, ratified by Resolution No 722 of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the Latvian Republican Trade Unions Council dated 23 December 1983, should read as follows:

"10. Persons who are permanent residents and have held a residence permit in a specific population center for at least 10 years can be registered as needing improved housing conditions.

"Regardless of the time they have lived in a specific population center, persons who have worked continuously for at least 10 years in the population center's enterprises, institutions, and organizations can be registered as needing improved housing conditions at their place of work provided the conditions for registration as needing improved housing conditions in operation at the population center where they work extend to them in the place where they live and provided they have held a residence permit for the republic all that time."

10. It is prescribed that decisions on questions of allocation of housing to servicemen on extended service and members of the officers corps who have been transferred to the reserve or have retired from the USSR Armed Forces shall be made by the Latvian SSR Military Commissariat within the limits of housing area allocated in conformity with current legislation. Top priority in the allocation of housing to the aforementioned persons shall be given to those called up to the USSR Armed Forces from the Latvian SSR.

11. Residence permits can be issued to persons arriving from other union republics either as tenants in blocks belonging to housing construction cooperatives or in blocks belonging to the individual housing stock, or as subtenants in blocks belonging to the state or public housing stock only provided that the enterprise, institution, or organization has paid the charge set under Article 2 of this resolution.

12. The Latvian SSR MVD and the rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction) should ensure strict compliance with the passport regime.

13. With a view to ensuring the fulfillment of the "Housing-2000" Comprehensive Program, individually owned housing accommodation can be sold only to citizens who have been permanent residents of the Latvian SSR with residence permits for at least 10 years.

14. In order to step up the ispolkoms' monitoring of the utilization and elimination of hostels, it is deemed expedient to introduce amendments to current legislation to the following effect:

14.1 accommodation vouchers for enterprise, institution, or organization hostels shall be issued by the relevant ispolkom at the request of enterprises, institutions, or organizations;

14.2 residence in hostels shall not be recognized as grounds for registration on the list for provision (improvement) of housing to people in need of improved housing conditions.

An appropriate draft Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On Introduction of Amendments to the Latvian SSR's Housing Code" shall be submitted for examination by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

15. The present resolution does not apply to persons registered as needing improved housing conditions before 15 February 1989.

16. The Latvian SSR Ministry of Justice:

16.1 jointly with the relevant ministries and departments, should prepare by 15 March 1989 proposals for the introduction of amendments to Latvian SSR Government resolutions stemming from this resolution;

16.2 jointly with the Latvian Republican Trade Unions Council and the Latvian SSR Ministry of Municipal Services, should prepare by 31 March 1989 draft new regulations on the procedure for allocation of housing accommodation in the Latvian SSR, bearing in mind the strengthening of the principles of social justice in the distribution of housing in the republic. The draft regulations in question must make specific provisions that:

—persons who have lived in substandard apartments in the same population center for at least 20 years shall have priority right to improved housing conditions;

—persons who have arrived from outside the republic and members of their families shall be provided with housing as housing accommodation becomes available as a result of improved housing conditions for the local population.

17. It is deemed necessary to form a republican commission for population questions to elaborate general concepts of the development of the republic's population, to coordinate work on the implementation of various programs on population questions, and to monitor the demographic situation.

The Latvian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems should submit draft regulations on the commission and its composition to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers by 1 April 1989.

18. The P. Stuchka Latvian State University (umbrella organization), the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, the USSR State Committee for Statistics Scientific Research Institute Latvian Branch, the Latvian SSR Gosplan Scientific Research Institute for Planning, the Latvian SSR State Committee for Statistics, the Latvian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the Latvian SSR MVD, and the Latvian SSR Ministry of Municipal Services should conduct in 1989-1990 studies on the problems of migration, development of the nationality structure of the republic's population, and allocation of housing and should submit reports with relevant recommendations to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

19. The Latvian SSR MVD, the Latvian SSR State Committee for Statistics, and the Latvian SSR Gosplan Scientific Research Institute for Planning should continue the work to develop an automated system for registration of the republic's population and should submit a report on the work done and specific proposals for its improvement to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers by 1 April 1989.

20. The Latvian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the Latvian SSR State Committee for Culture, the Latvian SSR "Znaniye" Society, and the newspaper and journal editorial offices should systematically inform the republic's population on population migration and the utilization of labor resources.

21. The Latvian SSR State Committee for Statistics and the Latvian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems should publish every 6 months data on population movements, including migration.

22. The Latvian SSR State Committee for Statistics, the Latvian SSR MVD, and the rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction) should, beginning in 1989 and on 1 August annually

thereafter, submit to the Latvian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems reports on progress in the fulfillment of this resolution.
The Latvian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems should submit a generalized report on this question to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the Latvian Republican Trade Unions Council by 20 August each year.

23. Personal responsibility for the fulfillment of this resolution is assigned to chairmen of rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republican jurisdiction) and to leaders of Latvian SSR ministries, state committees and departments, and associations, enterprises, institutions, and organizations regardless of their departmental subordination.

24. Rayon and city (in cities under republican jurisdiction) soviets of people's deputies are instructed to set up permanent commissions with broad involvement of representatives from public organizations to constantly monitor progress in the fulfillment of this resolution.

[Signed] V. Bresis, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers;
A. Zitmanis, chairman of the Latvian Republican Trade Unions Council

Lithuanians Speak on Ways To Win Independence
PM0203152189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 2

[ELTA report: "Radiant National Festival"]

[Excerpts] As was reported yesterday in our paper, a conference was held at the Lithuanian SSR Academy Drama Theater to celebrate a national holiday—the Day of the Lithuanian State's Rebirth. The conference was opened by Doctor of Historical Sciences Vitautas Merkis, corresponding member of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences. The gathering was addressed by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Today we publish an account of the other speeches at the conference.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof Bronyus Genzyalis delivered a report entitled "The People and Sovereignty."

"The basis for each people's existence," he said, "is its humanitarian, economic, and political distinctiveness. A people has life only when it decides its own destiny and develops its own culture. But the essential condition for this is political independence. [passage omitted]

"Lithuania finally lost its statehood in 1795 and was annexed by Russia.

"Tsarism savagely mutilated the Lithuanians' consciousness and sought to erase from the memory the remnants of historical consciousness. Vilnius University was closed and the Lithuanian press and Lithuanian schools were banned. The ideological principle was clear: Lithuanians as a people do not exist. The savage behavior of tsarism forced Lithuanians to look back on their history and to think about the future. To be or not to be? The people, finding themselves on the brink of the abyss, had no alternative. Internal forces and the instinct of self-preservation began to stir. The people grew in stature, realizing that their main enemy was Russian imperialism, and resisted it might and main.

"The struggle for the Lithuanian language, for Lithuanian church worship, for the right to speak the native language in state institutions, and for the right to use national symbols—this is the path taken by the Ausrininkai [political group of 19th century pro-liberation Lithuanian intellectuals].

"Until the people obtain independence their existence is in constant danger. A people without its own statehood is politically dependent on the favor of others.

"Homegrown tyrants do not pose a direct threat to the people's existence: They merely impoverish the culture and drain the country economically. When in dangerous surroundings the people are powerless to achieve internal political reforms or demand a change of power. An external danger makes a people unite. [passage omitted]

"The question of what language to speak is not one that faces a sovereign people. It is self-evident. If we debate whether Lithuanian should be declared the state language and if there are still objections, it means that the people do not have sovereignty. The polemic about the status of Lithuanian has been a reminder that the threat to our existence has not disappeared. Even today there are those who are reluctant to accept equal rights for Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians and who are restricting their cultural and economic development. This emphasizes again the importance of the revival of political independence.

"We must recognize a fundamental difference between the local inhabitants of Lithuania and the incomers. The destiny of the former is bound up with Lithuanian statehood and there can be no discord among us because we have the same aims.

"The face of Lithuania was changed in 1988. We are back where we started 7 decades ago. No one will grant us independence, so we are obliged to secure it. A sober understanding of the prevailing historical situation and unprincipled compromise are not identical phenomena. Therefore we are obliged to strive toward our goal patiently, step by step. I do not see any other way. It is a historical necessity. Only free people can be equal. [passage omitted]

Candidate of historical sciences lecturer Lyudas Truska delivered a report entitled "The Leninist Principle of Self-Determination of the Peoples, 16 February, and the Present Day."

"An important factor in the revival of the Lithuanian state in 1918," he stressed, "was the peoples' right to self-determination, which was generally recognized by the end of World War I and had influenced the policy of all the great powers in one way or another. The most credit is due to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin for propagandizing the peoples' right to self-determination and for raising this right to the level of state policy. The implementation of the peoples' right to self-determination proclaimed by the Bolsheviks was hampered by the concept of world revolution, which was behind the Red Army's march on Lithuania in late 1918.

"The rebirth of the state is the most important event in recent Lithuanian history. The state created conditions for the Lithuanian people to rationally develop their own economy and culture and strengthen national self-awareness. Private ownership of the means of production was the economic basis of the Lithuanian republic, therefore it was a bourgeois state. However, it had been revived not by the bourgeoisie but by the Lithuanian people, who were a peasant people at the time. The Lithuanian nobility had been polonized, while 96 percent of manufacturers and merchants were Jews, Poles, Germans, or Russians. The alien strata of the population were either neutral or even hostile toward the Lithuanian state.

"Secret deals between Hitlerites and Stalinists brought about the elimination of the Lithuanian Republic in 1940.

"Restructuring creates a real opportunity to implement the Lithuanian people's right to self-determination and to restore the republic's real sovereignty. This requires the unity and determination of all strata of the Lithuanian people and wise political leadership that is capable of soberly assessing its strength and potential and the actual situation in the country. The slogan 'All or nothing, and, what is more, right away' is adventurist and therefore can only harm the people. Sovereignty must be sought in stages. Independence for the republic's economy and culture, for the Lithuanian Communist Party, and other public organizations as well. A Law on the Lithuanian State Language, the adoption of a Constitution declaring the priority of Lithuanian laws on the republic's territory, the introduction of Lithuanian SSR citizenship, and the realization of the opportunities granted by a democratic electoral system—these are steps on the path to the republic's real sovereignty." [passage omitted]

Earthquake Commission Details Construction Work
PM0203142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission. Spring Is a Time for New Building"]

[Text] The appearance of the northern rayons of Armenia hit by the destructive earthquake last December is changing with every passing day. It is not just a question of signs of the onset of spring. There are more and more man-made details in the surrounding countryside: black mounds of freshly dug fertile soil, excavators, cranes, and the multicolored trucks making up small towns of construction workers. Foundations are being laid everywhere, and in some places walls of apartment blocks have started rising out of the ground like snowdrops on mountain slopes. The signs of new construction sites are typical not only of large cities but of small rayon centers and rural areas too.

Questions of developing construction of housing and social, cultural, and consumer projects in the rayon centers of Spitak and Stepanavan, as well as in Spitakskiy, Stepanavanskiy, and Artikskiy rayons, were examined at the 1 March routine working session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission session chaired by L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission approved the initiative of RSFSR and Belorussian Gosagroprom construction workers, who pledged to commission their entire housing plan before 10 November.

The decision by construction detachments from Russian oblasts to commission ahead of schedule during March more than 10 panelboard buildings for use as temporary schools in Spitak and Spitakskiy Rayon was also supported. Rural construction workers from the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone have also come up with a good initiative. Collectives of the mobile mechanized columns they set up are today working alongside not only people from Russian oblasts but local residents. In order to make this work more prestigious for Armenian construction workers it has been decided to allocate the first housing available to their families.

A new form of involving the republic's population in construction work has been found by the leaders of a Belorussian Gosagroprom detachment, who have concluded contracts for work fulfillment with a number of local cooperatives.

Work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in Spitak and Stepanavan is developing considerably more slowly, the commission noted. Both cities will be rebuilt virtually from scratch on new sites, where preparations for housing construction are already under way. Since the start of the year an enormous amount of work has been done to draw up design estimate documentation for

the construction of Stepanavan and Spitak, which is to be undertaken by subdivisions of the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises and the Estonian, Uzbek, and Georgian Gosstroys.

Unfortunately, the leaders of construction detachments in these three republics are managing the project in an uninspired and sluggish fashion, citing mistakes and shortcomings by others to excuse the slow development of the work. The commission warned them of their personal responsibility for the failure of the work entrusted to them.

The Armenian Gosstroy was instructed to strengthen forthwith the mobile mechanized columns entrusted to it in Spitak and Stepanavan. At a time when a considerable proportion of the population of these two cities is still without work the four Gosstroy mobile mechanized columns have only around 300 construction workers. Yet people do have work to do—there is lots of work everywhere.

The commission also instructed the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers to accelerate the resolution of questions of individual construction in Spitak and Stepanavan linked with land allocation, and the question of organizing trade in construction materials.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the session's work.

Armenian Reconstruction Plans Outlined

PM0203164189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 3

["Topical Interview" with M. Mkrtchyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Gosplan, by KOMMUNIST correspondent F. Nakhshkaryan: "Tasks for Today and Tomorrow"—date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Nakhshkaryan] The earthquake messed up all the plans and all the timetables for the functioning of the republic's economy for more than just the current year.... There were considerable numbers of industrial and agricultural enterprises in the disaster zone, and the overwhelming majority of them were destroyed or suffered substantial damage. Has any concept for the activity of the republic's economic complex over the next few years been formulated? On what principles is it based? Does it envisage merely recovering what was lost, or does it envisage some development?

[Mkrtchyan] Indeed, 24 cities and rayons, or 40 percent of the republic's territory, suffered as a result of the earthquake which hit northern regions of the Armenian SSR, which was unprecedented in terms of the scale of destruction and loss of life. In industry alone production capacities for output worth around R1.9 billion per year were put out of action.

Overall, the republic's losses of national wealth totaled around R10 billion.

In these conditions it is necessary to rethink cardinal questions of the long-term development of the republic's economic complex, to take into account the errors of the past, and to prevent them from being repeated in the future.

The republic's Gosplan has embarked on a comprehensive analysis of the state of affairs in the national economy in order to formulate on this basis proposals to refine the plan for the development and siting of productive forces in the Armenian SSR in the period through the year 2005 and to more carefully study the economic and social development plans for 1989-1990 and the 13th 5-year plan period.

For the next 2 years the task has been set of eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake as swiftly as possible and restoring the economy and social infrastructure of the cities and rayons that were hit. To this end a number of CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions have been adopted and published in the press, and have been greeted with feelings of deep gratitude both in the disaster regions and throughout the republic.

Several main directions have been singled out—housing construction, the restoration and reconstruction of industry and the agro-industrial complex, and also the creation of essential services for cities and settlements. Detailed elaboration of these programs is now under way.

It has been decided to proceed from two fundamental principles in implementing the projected measures. First, the republic occupies a certain place in the union-wide division of labor and so it is necessary to restore severed economic links within the shortest possible time, and to do so at a qualitatively new level. Second, it is necessary to ensure comprehensiveness in the republic's socioeconomic development while restoring the potential of the northern region.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have set the relevant ministries and departments targets for ensuring the commissioning of capacities at facilities undergoing restoration or construction as follows: 78 in 1989, 40 in 1990, and the remainder later.

According to the proposals of USSR ministries and departments, the restoration of the production capacities that were put out of action and the construction of new enterprises and facilities to replace those that were destroyed, and also facilities in the social sphere that are on enterprises' balance sheet, will be carried out by their own efforts, with construction and installation organizations being set up at the republic's enterprises. The construction of new enterprises to replace those totally

destroyed by the earthquake must be carried out in strict accordance with the demands of scientific and technical progress in terms of the standard of production technology and the output produced, and also with due regard for earthquake-resistance.

Joint ventures with foreign firms will be organized in the rayons hit by the earthquake. The question of creating a free economic zone there in the long term is being examined.

Particular mention should be made of the agro-industrial complex. Besides the implementation of urgent measures to restore a normal rhythm of agricultural production, rayons' specialization on an intensive basis will be stepped up. In our view, livestock raising must be given priority in the agriculture of these zones. To this end it is necessary to create a powerful feed base, to develop the mixed feed industry, and on this basis to ensure a marked increase in production of meat and dairy output over the next 5-6 years.

Around 6.3 million square meters of total housing area must be restored in 1989-1990 in the republic, 2.5 million of them in the current year. The housing construction plan for 1989 envisages a considerable reallocation of amounts of capital investment to increase investment in the regions hit by the earthquake.

Housing will be constructed as a complex with social, cultural, and consumer service facilities according to designs developed in the light of advanced Soviet and foreign experience of erecting such buildings in seismically active areas and ensuring a high degree of reliability of operation. Preference will be given to monolithic housing construction methods, and also to designs using local natural stone and earthquake-resistant structures.

[Nakhshkaryan] How is the activity of enterprises and organizations in other regions changing as a consequence of the adjustment of production in the north?

[Mkrtchyan] The question is being studied of partially making good as early as 1989 the losses in the production of certain types of output, especially consumer goods and construction industry and construction materials industry products, at related enterprises in the republic outside the disaster zone or in other regions of the country.

The question of placing production of footwear and school uniforms is being examined with light industry enterprises located outside the disaster zone.

In view of the destruction of the Leninakan magnetic circuits plant, stator and rotor sets for induction electric motors will be temporarily supplied to the "Armelektrodvigatel" Production Association by related enterprises in the sector—the electrical equipment plants in Kharkov, Uzhgorod, Tbilisi, Mogilev, and Kaunas—pending restoration of the plant.

Production of the output of the destroyed Leninakan "Mikroelektrodvigatel" Plant—washing machine motors—has also been temporarily transferred, to the Armavir and Nikolayev electrical equipment plants.

Attaching paramount importance to providing the earthquake victims with housing and the necessary social and consumer service conditions, the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on developing the production base of the construction industry and construction materials industry in the republic in 1989-1990.

The chemical industry workers of the "Polivinilatsetat" Production Association offered to make a contribution to solving this problem and have already embarked on practical action: planning work is under way to increase production of patterned linoleum on the territory of the "Poliplast" production unit, and production of bases and handrails for balustrades and wall coverings made from polymers is being organized.

The "Polivinilatsetat" collective is seeking out possibilities of making maximum use of installed equipment in order to increase production of polyvinylacetate dispersion, which is a binding agent for the paints needed for the internal and external decoration of buildings, and also in laying float flooring.

It is planned to resolve these tasks in 1989, and talks have been held with French firms on the delivery of modern progressive equipment for this purpose.

[Nakhshkaryan] Will all the industrial enterprises which suffered be restored? After all, many of them were forced to import not only raw and other materials but also manpower from outside the republic.

[Mkrtchyan] Practically all the destroyed enterprises will be restored. We cannot do other than resume production of output with regard to which our republic occupied an important place in the unionwide division of labor, and also of consumer goods and items intended for consumption inside the republic.

We are also proceeding on the basis that labor collectives of skilled workers had taken shape at the destroyed enterprises, and it is inexpedient to continue to tear these workers away from their familiar job.

At the same time, in view of the need to allocate large parcels of land in order to restore capacities in single-story buildings and to ship in manpower, the question of the advisability of constructing the Leninakan cotton textile production association named for the May uprising on another site is being examined.

As for the import of raw material into the republic, in this case this is not a determining factor. Because of the republic's natural conditions most of our industrial

enterprises import many types of raw and other materials, and also fuel and energy resources. That was so before the earthquake, and it will continue to be the case.

[Nakhshkaryan] What principle underlies the choice of the enterprises to be restored first?

[Mkrtchyan] Food, light, and construction industry enterprises, and also enterprises in other sectors which suffered only slight damage, will be the first to be restored, on a new technical basis.

[Nakhshkaryan] Will the range of output at the restored enterprises change?

[Mkrtchyan] Yes, the range at these enterprises will partly change. Their whole output will become more modern and of better quality.

The question of changing the range of output will be considered in the light of the Soviet- and foreign-made technological equipment that is installed and the market demand.

While restoring plant capacities USSR machine building ministries have been told to make provision for the production of competitive new models of machine tools, equipment, and units, involving, where possible, foreign firms in cooperation.

One of them has been told to radically improve on a new technical basis the quality of the compressors produced at the Leninakan refrigerator compressor plant and is studying the question of organizing production of modern domestic refrigerators at this same plant.

Consideration is being given to the question of completely renewing the range of output produced by Leninakan's "Elektrobytpribor" Plant and organizing the production of high-quality electric domestic appliances—mixers, coffee grinders, mincers, and so forth—with the participation of GDR enterprises, instead of producing old-fashioned irons for which there is no demand.

The need for the stone-cutting machines produced by the "Armkamnerezmash" Production Association is increasing sharply in view of the large program of construction work in the republic. Despite the considerable damage to the plant, it is planned to organize production of machines as from the first quarter of 1989. The task has been set of increasing volumes of production of the machines by approximately 140 percent by the end of 1990, and also of envisaging design changes to the machines making it possible to minimize heavy manual labor in quarries and the construction industry.

[Nakhshkaryan] Many enterprises struck by misfortune were working in the new economic conditions. Some of them were operating efficiently, others had debts. How will the financial questions of the stricken enterprises be resolved?

[Mkrtchyan] Total sums for all types of debt have now been determined. Proposals regarding the amount of repayment or writing off of debts, according to the physical state of the specific enterprise and amount of damage inflicted on it by the earthquake, will be supplied to the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR Gosbank so they can adopt appropriate decisions.

[Nakhshkaryan] Is the siting of the republic's productive forces being revised since many production units will have to be started from scratch?

[Mkrtchyan] No substantial changes in the siting of the republic's productive forces are expected, since in the earthquake zone the former industrial production facilities will largely be restored and reconstructed and new production facilities will be created with the aim of solving the employment problem of the personnel temporarily torn away from production activity.

[Nakhshkaryan] Will the scientific, technical, and financial potential of foreign firms be involved in work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake and restore the republic's national economy?

[Mkrtchyan] We have received offers from a number of foreign firms regarding their readiness to take part in work to eliminate the aftermath of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR.

These proposals can mostly be put in three main categories:

—aid in deliveries of equipment, machines, and mechanisms, and also other material assets;

—participation in the planning and construction of various facilities of national economic importance in the rayons and cities hit by the natural disaster;

—offers of scientific and technical collaboration and the creation of joint production facilities, new technologies, and others.

In the first category, that is, aid in deliveries of equipment, machines, mechanisms, and other material assets, intensive work began in the very first days after the earthquake and continues to the present day, though no longer on the same scale as originally, it is true. But this is natural. It is now time for more purposeful actions.

By decision of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, a special republican commission is being set up to study in conjunction with ministries, departments, and representatives of the foreign firms in question each individual proposal from the viewpoint of its economic, scientific, and technical expediency and to submit its findings to the republic's government.

Without waiting for this commission to be officially set up, the Armenian SSR Gosplan, together with the ministries and departments concerned, has already held a number of working conferences with representatives of some foreign firms. We are waiting for their final decision.

Shortages Commission Formed in Kazakhstan

PM2302150089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent E. Matskevich report: "Special Monitoring of Shortages"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—A republican commission to combat speculation and abuses in the sphere of distribution and trade in goods in high demand has been set up in Alma-Ata. It is headed by G. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

Last year alone goods worth a total of more than R5 million were misappropriated in the republic's trade and consumer cooperative system. Criminal proceedings were brought against about 1,000 people.

Moreover many goods were simply spoiled and failed to reach the consumer. "Floating" shortages also became established—an acute shortage first of one article, then of another. There are distortions in the prices in the lease and cooperative trade network, short change and short weight, the concealment of popular items under the counter and their sale from bases, dumps, and storerooms, resale....

"Tougher measures will be taken against arbitrary distribution and speculation," V. Yefimov, deputy chairman of the commission and chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee State Legal Department, says. "It is planned, for instance, to increase the fine for a first offense in speculation to R100, by legislation. One of the main avenues in our work is the coordination of the activity of different departments with a view to stimulating the production of goods in prime demand. The commission will monitor the practice of distribution and sale of stocks and pricing.

"For instance, in recent years the local footwear association 'Zhetysu' increased prices for some types of output by nearly 50 percent. Are these prices justified? This must be studied, a check must be carried out. Or, for instance, in Alma-Ata there has recently been an unprecedented number of people moving house, and the shortage of furniture for new apartments has increased. Yet last year alone local enterprises dispatched R4.5 million worth of this furniture outside the republic. Is this distribution fair?

"We are still trying to share out goods fairly, so that no one is upset. So it turns out that each store receives, say, a couple of leather jackets and hats. Naturally, they never reach the consumer. It is necessary to open a specialized outlet in the city so as not to scatter the stocks of shortage goods and so as to monitor their sale.

"Of course, in seeking and implementing sensible solutions it is better for law enforcmeent, monitoring, planning, and soviet organs, the Ministry of Trade, and the Kazakh Potrebsoyuz to work together," V. Yefimov said in conclusion.

Similar commissions are being set up in every oblast of the republic. Materials from the checks are to be examined by labor collectives.

Kazakh Education Minister's Efforts Criticized

LD0203143189 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Excerpt] As has already been reported, Shayakhmetov, CPSU member and education minister in the republic, gave a report to the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee on his personal participation in the effort to give students an internationalist and patriotic upbringing.

A resolution adopted on this question notes that, taking into consideration the growth in national self-consciousness and the process taking place in the sphere of interethnic relations, Shayakhmetov has lately shown increased attention to bringing up real young patriots and internationalists, while respecting the language and culture of representatives of all nationalities and ethnic groups. However, he has not yet managed to create in the apparatus of the ministry and in the subdepartmental institutions an atmosphere of purposeful and effective work for an interethnic and patriotic upbringing of students. [passage omitted]

Refuseniks Find Visas Still Difficult To Obtain

PM0203170089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 26 Feb 89 p 6

[Andrey Bezruchenko "First-hand Information" report: " 'Refuseniks' Still Being Refused. Limitations for leaving the Country Due to 'Regime Reasons'"]

[Text] Letters and phone calls poured into our office after we published the item "Refuseniks may now go" in the No 51 issue of 1988. The people who wrote or phoned us declared that they had information to verify

the refusal of dozens of people who wanted to leave for abroad, due to "regime reasons." Many of the "refuseniks" have been waiting for ten or more years for permission to leave.

We asked officials from OVIR (Russ. abbr. for the Soviet Visa Office and Registration for Foreigners) of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and UVIR (Administration for Visas and Registration of Foreigners) of the Chief Administration for Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, to check the lists and the names we were given. It turns out that in the last month the restrictions were lifted from ten people on the list of 32 persons sent to MN by the Public Council for Helping the Work of UVIR (which, however, is not registered anywhere as a public organization). The other 22 people are still being refused permission to leave.

Admir Luzinovich, deputy chief of OVIR, commenting on readers' letter, said that the question of lifting the so-called regime restrictions was not decided by the department, but by those places where the people used to work. "Let them approach their departments and not us," he said.

At the same time, as we can see from readers' letters, there are cases when a department has already "let go" the person wishing to leave, but OVIR continues to refuse the person permission to leave. This happened to pensioner Don Kozlenko, a resident of Odessa, who says that he was refused permission to leave the country even after he got permission from his former workplace. Checking up on Kozlenko's letter to MN, OVIR answered that his request was declined "in connection with newly discovered circumstances".

Muscovite Lev Milman, who is "not being permitted to go" by the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry, where he used to work before resigning on pension ten years ago, Andrey Kholin (also from Moscow) has problems with leaving, because he temporarily worked as the head of a research institute's skiing centre, and other people have sent letters to us.

We say that we don't think we've got the right to judge whether the restrictions issued by the departments due to regime reasons are correct, since it's impossible to get all the facts.

That's why we can only join the proposal made by lawyers in our press that there should exist a concrete maximum time for a "refusal," and disputed questions on lifting "regime restrictions" should be decided, in every individual case, by an organ, composed of experts, independent of departments. Their arguments should be known to the applicant, who, in case he disagrees, could apply to the people's court.

*Readers Question Campaign To Liquidate Kulaks

WA18300361 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Feb 89 p 4

[Letters from readers in the column "Peasant Archives": "Expropriation"]

[Text] "At present, our policy is to liquidate the kulaks as a class, a policy compared to which extraordinary measures against the kulaks are nothing—and nothing much has happened."

(I. Stalin, Closing Remarks at the 16th VKP(b) Congress, July 1930)

As early as 1928 the Peyve family was liquidated as kulaks and exiled. Voldemar Karlovich, the head of the household, was exiled to the Urals and perished somewhere. By the way, he is the father of two scientists—Academy members Yan Voldemarovich and Aleksandr Voldemarovich Peyve, who are now dead as well.

Three or four families of poor peasants from nearby villages moved into the Peyve house. They appropriated all property, cattle and land. I cannot say exactly what they called themselves—a collective farm or a commune. A fanatical, almost illiterate woman emigre from Latvia was their leader. Over 1 year of joint "work", they slaughtered and ate the cattle, and harvested nothing because they did not want to work and did not know how. After all, they had had their own parcels of land before which were neglected and abandoned. Having faced a situation with no way out, they made the following decision: they will live comfortably if they take over the property and cattle of other "kulaks..."

At the time, a lot depended on the local authorities, "the poor." They went around the homes as robbers and took away everything in sight. I remember very well how they descended on us at night, when the men were not home. They confiscated whatever they found appealing, loaded it on a cart and hauled it away. Soon all "kulaks" were moved into the houses of "the poor," and they were moved into our homes. Our exiled families were doomed to starve...

My father, my uncles or other inhabitants of Sementsevo were not and could not be kulaks. My uncles actively participated in the revolution and the civil war. One of them, Avgust Petrovich Berzin, took part in the Petrograd uprising, was for a while one of Lenin's bodyguard's, and then at the front until the end of the civil war. Another uncle, Adolf Petrovich Berzin, also fought at the front from the beginning to the end of the civil war. Two other uncles died in that war.

Before the revolution, my family of expatriates from Latvia, landless peasants, wandered with their children across Russia, worked as farm hands and had nothing. Having returned from the civil war and obtained land, my father and his two brothers built a house and

acquired some property together. All seven families in the village of Sementsevo joined a cooperative which was called the TOZ [Association for Joint Cultivation of Land]. Five years later, all of them suddenly turned out to be "kulak" families! The riches of my father and uncles consisted of two horses, two cows and small cattle—among their three large families. Our clothes were exclusively home-spun. What kind of kulaks were we?

[signed] A. E. Berzin, Toropets Rayon, Kalinin Oblast.

The Skorokhod family lived next to us. The father Aleksandr Skorokhod came back from the civil war having lost vision in both eyes. He had a parcel of land, 8 dessiatinas, a couple horses... I remember three carts driving up to the Skorokhod place with a red banner on the first one. The banner said: "Liquidate the kulaks as a class." Within 3 hours, they took from the house and loaded on the carts bed linens, clothing, footwear, a pig, a cow, horses, grain in sacks. The blind Aleksandr Skorokhod was carried out on a piece of cloth and slammed hard against the road surface. Then the mistress of the house came out. She was leading by the hand their son Fedya, and in the other hand she carried a small bundle. She helped her husband up, beat the dust off him, the son took him by the hand, and then they set out toward the railway station.

They came to my father many times, threatening that he had supposedly been placed on the kulak list and that they would come to expropriate him the next day. However, all of them activists liked vodka very much. The father bent over backwards to offer them a treat, and—get this—he survived.

[signed] I. P. Palamarchuk, Dobrovelichkovo Rayon, Kirovograd Oblast.

A commissar from the oblast party committee, Andrushchenko, was sent to our village (we lived in Kiev Oblast). The rumor had it that this Andrushchenko was the son of a landowner who had stolen himself into the party and was operating under an assumed name. Andrushchenko would gather the village aktiv in the evening and would tell them: "I want the dogs to bark tonight, I want the roosters to crow, the windows to ring, and feathers fly from the pillows. Ten, 12 or 15 kulak families should be tossed out of their homes, stoves should be broken and windows smashed." Teams of activists would go to their assigned areas, down and feathers would fly, and naked and barefoot people with small children would be thrown out into the winter cold and snow in whatever they had on.

Kukak expropriations were carried out as follows: fixed quotas are set—on a given date, 50, 80 or 100 poods of grain are to be delivered. A person delivers it, and thinks this is all. They set another quota for him, twice as large. The ones who were doing better would meet even two or three such quotas, they would buy grain and meet them. Those who would not were classified as kulaks.

I remember cases like this. A team of activists would drink moonshine and eat lard confiscated from the kulaks, and would summon [people] to the headquarters (every street had headquarters like that). I remember how they made a 78-year old man in canvas pants dance to their balalaika with a board 5 centimeters thick and 2 meters long on his outstretched hands. Also, they made him shout: "I malevolently failed to meet my grain quota!" He danced until he fell down and fainted. Another case. A barefoot woman wearing only a blouse was taken out of the village in winter, given a whip and told: "Since you are not delivering grain, you will drive around the wind in the field." They would prevent the neighbors to take in those thrown into the street by threatening to toss the neighbors out, too.

In 1929, people were herded into comprehensive collectivization without applying [to join collective farms]. They confiscated horses and implements from every farm yard. Later, I do not remember which month it was, they announced that collective farms are to be disbanded as a result of Stalin's dizziness due to successes. People were lucky to take their cattle and implements to their own yard, but they again began forcing people to write applications. Many resisted joining the collective farm. They were also branded kulaks, and some of them kulak advocates. Their homes were destroyed, their land with crops on it was taken over by collective farms, and people began to die off to a man.

[signed] T. M. Rikhtik, Sokuluz Rayon, Kirghiz SSR.

As a member of the Komsomol, I was told to escort kulak Bochkarev. The militia could not do anything, could not send him off in any manner. The populace would turn out, stand in the way and say that he was not the kind of man to be exiled.

I came in the morning, around 8 o'clock. He and his farm hands were already up. I told him to take everything he needed, go to the city of Chistopol and live there. The man was not good-looking, but his wife and daughter were. He offered me to marry his daughter, and promised me mountains of gold. I told him that as a member of the Komsomol I was not allowed to marry the daughter of a kulak. He asked me to spend the night with her, but I did not agree.

Bochkarev sold the cattle overnight, smashed the machinery, and put 400 beehives out into the cold—the bees perished. He set out on 10 carts with his gear. Mounted militia men waited for him where the road forks and surrounded him. He wanted to turn toward the station of Nurlaty, and not toward Chistopol as the arrangement called for. They were arrested and sent to the Chistopol Prison. I did not know that this would be done to them...

[signed] S. S. Ilyin, Yaroslavl.

The farmers who were better off resisted collective farm construction, they always harmed collective farmers, set fire to their houses, poisoned their horses, smashed the implements and shot activists and party functionaries from sawed-off guns. In our hamlet, Litvinov, Dubynka and their sons committed particularly bad atrocities. Litvinov had his own mill, a lot of land and cattle. Dubynka also lived very affluently, and so they held sway. It came to the point when citizens of the hamlet asked to have them removed, because living in the hamlet had become unbearable. Along with them, there were also kulak advocates. This was the case not only in our hamlet of Malokorovka; affluent Cossacks were committing atrocities all over Kuban. I survived this horrible time, I saw collective farmers being killed for nothing or having dogs set on them, I saw their torched property. I recognize that it was a very proper decision by the government to exile them to Siberia and the Solovki [Islands].

At present, they say in the press that Stalin killed many innocent people. It seems to me that they who complain about Stalin were exiled for atrocities against the pioneers of collective farm construction. Now they are raising their voices. On top of everything, they are about to have a monument erected to their honor as Stalin's victims. Why doesn't somebody recall the people who were felled by the sawed-off guns of the kulaks? What kind of logic is that?

[Signed] I. I. Solovyev, Krasnodar Kray.

After graduating from an agricultural vocational school I worked as an agronomist in Airtav Rayon, Karaganda Oblast. There was a lot of land in Northern Kazakhstan, and the parcels were large. Anybody who wanted to get rich could do it easily. Certainly, those who drank to excess and spent nights playing cards lived in poverty. There were not too many of them, but they made the most noise at village meetings. One could not notice class struggle in the political sense of the word. Something else was apparent—jealousy. They envied those who spent their nights in the field and lived comfortably. The poor called the wealthy filthy rich, and the wealthy called the poor beggars and card buffs. Party functionaries and even the GPU [Main Political Directorate] mistook such discord for class struggle.

I was a witness to the following: a meeting of the executive board of the rural soviet was underway in the village of Krivinka. The secretary of the Komsomol chapter left at the very beginning of the meeting. Toward the end of the meeting (about 11 o'clock, at night), he rushed into the hall shouting: "Kulaks have shot me!" There was blood on his cheek. Those in the hall immediately noticed that this was a simple cut rather than a gunshot wound. However, this sufficed for a call to the militia, and in the morning all persons deprived of legal rights were arrested and hauled away. About 5 years later, this communist youth organizer let on when drunk that he fired the sawed-off gun himself and scratched his cheek himself.

[signed] A.A. Kolyada, settlement of Chertkovo, Rostov Oblast.

I think that in our village it was possible not to put anybody through kulak expropriation because the seven farms which they did expropriate were the most diligent in the village. They did not use hired labor, and their own families were mostly large—between 6 and 11 persons. Their farms were well-managed, their houses were kept up well, their cattle and implements were in good condition, and their land was fertilized. In return for their hard, well-organized labor they got good harvests, milk and meat. They lived well, and this is why people were jealous.

I would say that slackers were the ones to decide who was to be expropriated. I remember that there were "farmers" at the time who only drank and played cards, and were not capable of getting hay for their cows or horses. They were given the right to rule on the fate of hard workers.

[signed] A. A. Zashikhin, Vologda Oblast.

My father was branded the enemy of the people just for saying: you are not leading us the way that Lenin mapped out.

From the day they took father away to this day we have not learned anything about him. Our mother as the wife of a traitor was also locked up in the basement, and the four of us were left, as they say, with nothing. The stove on which the four of us, underage children, were sitting was all raked up; they looked into our pots. In a mold, they found some cereal, and took even that away. I remember my mother crying and wringing her hands, asking them to spare the children. No chance, the order was not to give anybody an easy time. When they let mother out of the basement, they told her immediately: vacate the house, this is a kulak home and should be vacant in 24 hours. We were tossed out right into the street, into the cold. The neighbors took me, the youngest one, in, and then so did my uncle who brought me up. The older children started to beg in order not to starve.

At the time, they would not give mother any work. She went around and asked to be given something to do, because the children had to be fed. This is how we lived in other people's places until the year 1937, when things became somewhat normal and mother was hired by the collective farm as a pig-tender. She got commendations for outstanding work, and was even supposed to go to Moscow. However, she did not go to Moscow but instead passed a petition to, it seems to me, either Petrovskiy or Khatayevich asking that our house be returned. One day they called us to the village soviet and announced that

they had a permission to return to us our yard. However, since schoolteachers lived there, they gave us instead an old open house where they kept sheep in the winter. I remember very well how much effort we had to invest into it. Nonetheless, we were very happy. We were going to have our own house!

[signed] P. I. Yatsenko, Krivoy Rog.

In 1930, our father was arrested, and a brigade cleaned our house of grain thoroughly. Four months later, a cart pulled up at night together with escorts, and we were told to get our gear quietly, taking along 20 kilograms of flour, an ax and a saw. My mother, myself, my brother Fedya, my sister and one other family were loaded up and taken to the station of Papelyukhi where they put us in freight cars. At night, they brought in our father as well. They closed the car, gave us a bucket for relieving ourselves, and put guards on the platform. The entire train of expropriated kulaks went God knows where. I would not know about other kulaks, but my father had on his farm a cow, two horses, five sheep, a hog, plus the seeding machine he bought. This is what he was expropriated for....

They took as as far as Perm. There was a sea of humanity there, people like us—Ukrainians, Belorussians, Moldavians.... People shouted and wept as they were loaded onto barges and tow steamships and taken up the river Kama. I remember that those who died were tossed overboard. Our sister died, she was 2 years old....

They took us to Komi-Permyak Okrug, and drove us 15 kilometers into the woods. We were told: that's your place, cut down the trees and build dugouts for yourselves. People, the old and the very young, began to get typhoid fever and die. We made mortars and crushed bark and hay in order to mix them into the flour. Many people died then, but there were guards around the place, and you could not run away. Carts drove through the settlement and collected the dead. They loaded 10 or 15 corpses, took them to the pit and dumped them whichever way they fell, worse than you would dogs. My mother and father also ended up in this pit. As far as I am concerned, I wandered a lot, survived the war, was wounded. At the time, the instruction was not to enlist children of kulaks in the army, but we did not admit that we were from an expropriated family. Many of us gave their lives for the Motherland.

[signed] I. Ye. Karpenko, Kamenskoye Rayon, Moldavian SSR.

In the course of kulak expropriation in 1930 through 1932 alone about 1 million farms were taken over, and their owners together with their families were exiled to Siberia, Kazakhstan, the North or the Urals or resettled within the confines of their krays and oblasts of residence. There are no data on the number of victims of the expropriation. According to some calculations, between 6 and 10 million people were subjected to repressions.

***AIDS Specialists Answer Questions on Prevention**
WA18299218 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Vladimir Ivanovich Kulakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and Doctor of Medical Sciences Gennadiy Tikhonovich Sukhikh, by L. Artamonova: "More on AIDS"]

[Text] "Your newspaper has discussed the safety measures being taken against AIDS in treatment institutions. But specialists work there, while the majority of people are not specialists and do not know what the medical experts know. For example, the clinical indications of the disease."

We took the letter from our reader R. Maksunov from Kirov to a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Vladimir Ivanovich Kulakov and Doctor of Medical Sciences Gennadiy Tikhonovich Sukhikh, who are directly involved in the All-Union Program for the Prevention and Treatment of AIDS. Here is what they said.

[Kulakov] The more people who judge the disease not from rumors, but on the basis of scientific data and recommendations, the better. But before giving the SI readers the basic symptoms of the disease, we must warn them: you must not diagnose yourselves simply because you have learned the symptoms of the disease.

And so, the clinical picture of AIDS.

Two to four weeks after the virus has entered the organism many people develop a fever, their lymph nodes on their neck and in their armpits become enlarged as do their liver and spleen, and the number of lymphocytes in the blood decreases. After a couple of months there may or may not be cause for concern, but after a couple of years clear symptoms of the disease begin to be manifested.

The early signs also include an elevated temperature over a long period of time without any obvious reason, profuse perspiration, especially at night, severe fatigue, irritability, and loss of appetite. Intestinal activity is disordered and there is a weight loss of up to 10-15 kilograms and more. Frequently other infections are added, for example, pneumonia.

But all this might also not be AIDS. Only the discovery of the virus in the patient's organism is justification for a final conclusion.

[Artamonova] Is the physician right to insist that his patient be tested for AIDS?

[Kulakov] Parties subject to this kind of test must be listed in the rules set by the USSR Ministry of Public Health. They are mainly donors of blood, plasma, and

other biological fluids and tissues, people in high-risk groups, and, of course, those who have been discovered during an epidemiological investigation.

[Sukhikh] In the spread of AIDS illegal homosexuality is more dangerous than legal homosexuality: the criminal responsibility for it, which in our country is determined by law, keeps this category of citizens from going to the doctor promptly. We must find a reasonable solution.

[Artamonova] The authors of the letters are alarmed: can bites from bedbugs, mosquitoes, and other bloodsucking insects transmit the virus? Are contacts with patients dangerous—meaning ordinary communication with them, shaking hands and so forth?

[Kulakov] There is no evidence that the infection can be transferred this way either in the materials of the World Health Organization or in the research of our scientists.

[Artamonova] With artificial feeding of nursing children many mothers use donated milk. Can this be dangerous?

[Sukhikh] Yes, it can. But is has been established that warming it for 30 minutes at a temperature of 60 degrees centigrade kills the virus.

[Artamonova] In your opinion, should future mothers interrupt their pregnancy when they have a positive reaction to the AIDS test?

[Sukhikh] It is the physician's duty to offer them this. The risk of transmitting the infection to the child is immense, and, moreover, this measure is in the interests of the woman herself: otherwise the disease can progress more rapidly.

[Artamonova] The rapid discovery and careful study of the virus initially inspired hope that a vaccine against AIDS would be created soon. But we have been waiting a long time. Why?

[Kulakov] The sharply expressed mutability of the virus, which exceeds the mutability of the flu virus many times over, is one of the main obstacles.

Today the laboratories of the world are offering several variants of AIDS vaccines. All of them have been studied mainly in animals. In some places abroad they have conducted clinical tests on volunteers. We are hoping that the vaccine will still appear.

[Sukhikh] The spread of AIDS raises a problem which affects every person in every country. But the danger can be overcome if one is guided by common sense and scientific recommendations. Personal responsibility is the first and main thing that can be directed against the threat of an epidemic. At the same time one must have a high level of humanity and mercy for those who are suffering from the disease. It is sufficient for each of us to imagine that one of our friends or relatives has the disease to understand: no discrimination can be tolerated here. The conference of the European Regional Bureau of the World Health Organization and other international forums of physicians consider it undesirable even to create separate hospitals for people infected with the disease. But extensive consultation with the population regarding all questions related to the disease should be mandatory with complete confidentiality of testing. People who have come in for medical testing should be guaranteed medical advice, observation, and psycho-social support. In our country this task is the responsibility of the treatment institutions of the USSR Ministry of Public Health.

***AIDS Prevention, Treatment Hampered by Shortcomings**
WA18300377 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Feb 89, Second Edition, p 3

[Article by N. Gogol: "Without Immunity"]

[Text] Being deprived of immunity is a great disaster. A person becomes defenseless against infection like a soldier in an open position during combat: If he stands up the bullets will start whistling all around him. It is terrifying to look at him from the trench because you cannot reach him, you cannot save him. But here is the question: Are we looking from the trench? In general does the trench exist?

People might reproach me saying that enough has been said about the AIDS scare. Everyone was extremely frightened by the tragedy in Elist. Going against everything that in physicians' jargon is called manipulations, the parents are raising up a wall and not allowing the beloved children to have either injections or inoculations—a real AIDS mania.

One should listen to the sincere advice, but here is the problem: when you read the official letters and documents characterizing the situation at the front in the battle against AIDS, you get a quite different impression, one might say, a directly opposite one. One can perceive nothing like fear, or even slight worry.

Three months ago in an article entitled "The Unvarnished Truth About AIDS" (PRAVDA, 11 November 1988) an alarming evaluation was given to the work that is being done today to prevent the spread of the terrible virus, which is envisioned, incidentally, by a special state program. There are not enough qualified specialists and we do not take the necessary precautions at the primary level of public health. We have not provided for the output of the required quantity of test systems for diagnosing AIDS. Truly miserly quantities of disposable syringes come in to the medical institutions and means of individual protection into the pharmacy network. We have not regulated the legal aspects of interrelations with "high-risk groups." AIDS prevention publicity is

imperfect.... What else is needed so that those responsible for our immune defense, as it were, if they are not frightened will at least be concerned about the picture that is emerging?

That is the way it seemed. But here is the reality. The first (was it the first?) death from AIDS was registered in Leningrad in September of last year, and beginning in November in Kalmykiya 31 children and 7 adults infected with AIDS (human immunodeficiency virus) were revealed one after the other. And again the familiar conclusion—a lack of caution on the part of physicians. In January, when the entire country learned about what had happened in Elist, an inspection of measures for AIDS prevention was conducted in the Kalmyk ASSR by a special brigade of the USSR Ministry of Health. And what did it discover? Concealed blood in the needles and capillary tubes used for taking blood that had come from the central sterilization unit of the republic children's hospital, the same one where the children and their mothers were infected!

Obviously, what is going on gives one reason to speak of a certain inertia of irresponsibility: if they have done badly up to this point, why should they do well now; if up to this point they have had a careless attitude toward sterilization of medical equipment and the observance of elementary sanitation rules and, as a result, the outburst of infections in hospitals everywhere has almost been considered the norm, why should everything change now? Of course, it is not difficult to explain why, but to persuade...

I must admit that the initial variant of the article "The Unvarnished Truth About AIDS" placed a small wedge in the problem. The country's chief state sanitary physician, A. Kondrusev, responding to complaints from readers of the newspaper concerning violations of the rules of sterility in medical institutions, and particularly to the question of whether or not physicians are liable, in keeping with the ukaze on AIDS, when they knowingly place a patient in danger of being infected with the virus, said: "Yes, if his negligence has led to the patient's infection." In order not to stir up passions, we left this excerpt out. Now it is clear that this was wrong. Perhaps it is superfluous to recall that strict responsibility would have prevented if not the tragedy in Elist, then possible repetitions of it.

But on the other hand, why is it necessary to hold a sword over a person's head in order for a him to perform his duties conscientiously? And this is completely useless if he does not have the necessary knowledge, inclinations, and culture, finally, which will not allow him to approach a child even with dirty hands, not to mention a dirty syringe. The problem of providing personnel for public health should have been resolved long ago.

It would seem that irresponsibility has deeper roots which might be called moral ignorance. This phenomenon, like the preceding one, does not exist in medicine alone. Here, for example, is what is written in the response to the article "The Unvarnished Truth About AIDS" from Rykov of Angarsk in Irkutsk Oblast: "Have we really defended our homeland and given millions of lives so that today we must raise the question of prophylactics, advertise sex education of students, and even raise the question of teaching sex education in the schools. What is this, a society of drug addicts and prostitutes?" There is no point in discussing the logic or the style of the letter; its essence is important, and it is this: let us prohibit discussion of what is "unseemly" and it will disappear. Let us act as though the "unseemly" does not exist. And then there will be no need to do anything. You will agree that this opinion is a real balm to the souls of those who quite recently have "authoritatively" convinced us that: AIDS is a capitalist disease; it does not affect our country...

Our country has been affected. And now, even if we were to imagine a situation in which all medical workers—from the nurses to city health leaders—finally recognized the degree of impending danger, it would not be easy for them to do their duty. I recall a visit in 1930 to the Leningrad Rayon Polyclinic, the same one where in 1988 we are looking at an unidentified AIDS patient. Everything is familiar: the long waiting lines in the corridor, the shortage of physicians. There is no time to examine a patient carefully—they merely listen to what he has to say. No, the head of the polyclinic, O. Butina, is not sure that what happened last year will not be repeated. And are there many of her colleagues in other cities who can honestly give a different answer?

New problems are being heaped on the chronic old ills in public health. Oh, those notorious disposable syringes! Oh that riddle that has not yet been solved by domestic industry! To my question of what can be compared to this device in terms of complexity, an engineer I know after thinking a moment pointed to a ball-point pen that costs 30 kopecks: this is perhaps even more complicated. A medical specialist who recently returned from India said, not without bitterness: the Indians pitied us when they heard about the tragic event in Elist—there, in a country with a population almost three times as large as ours, they do not have the problem of disposable needles...

And now let us read the response to the PRAVDA article. Yu. Kalinin, deputy minister of the USSR medical and microbiological industry writes: "In 1988 the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry is preparing to deliver 70 million syringes by assembling and attaching needles to them at the Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy and Leningrad plants using imported parts (they delivered 49 million syringes and 28.5 million of them without needles—I.G.). At these same plants this year they will introduce capacities for producing 200 million syringes a year... We have submitted suggestions concerning the creation in 1990 of capacities for producing 1 billion syringes... This will make it

possible by 1991 to produce 1.2 billion syringes, which is less than the assignment, but it will satisfy the immediate needs of public health to a significant degree."

What is behind such an optimistic conclusion? The fact that both this year and next year we shall have less than one-tenth of the disposable syringes we need, that is, the primary public health network will not actually receive any, and you and I shall not see them. Not until 1991 are we promised less than half of the necessary quantity of syringes, that is, 3 billion. But even for this, as was explained at yesterday's meeting of the All-Union Extraordinary Anti-Epidemic Commission by the representative of the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, we can count on the allotment of only 42 million rubles in foreign currency for purchasing equipment...

The second official response to the article "The Unvarnished Truth About AIDS" came from the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry. Explaining the reason for the shortage of prophylactics, the deputy chief of the main technical administration for rubber footwear and medical items, A. Stolpovskikh, writes: "Since the order from the USSR Ministry of Health for 1986 was cut by more than half as compared to 1971, in 1985 we eliminated the production of these items at the Bakovskiy plant for rubber items." He goes on to say in the letter that we are now producing 210-220 million prophylactics annually, but this year we shall double our output.

To a person unfamiliar with the logic of interdepartmental relations it might seem strange to go to the Ministry of Health with a question about the need for prophylactics and not to him, that is, the consumer. The uninitiated person will probably be surprised that such intimate questions as family planning, the selection of a means of birth control, and, finally, sex life are completely in the hands of the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, or whoever else you may think of, but not in his own hands. It might seem incomprehensible why the production workers stopped at producing 220 million of the "unique items," which is equal to three prophylactics per one representative of the male sex per year, and now they suddenly decide, and one can see from the letter, to make twice as many of them, that is, six. But perhaps five will do, or do they need seven?

But I must say that our irony, which is fairly sad, is nothing in comparison to that which is found in the response of Comrade Stolpovskikh himself. I have in mind his reference to the reduction of the order from the USSR Ministry of Health. This order has indeed decreased from year to year. But let us compare the figures. In 1983 public health ordered 550 million prophylactics and the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry manufactured 239 million. In 1984 the order was for 335 million and they actually produced 198 million, while in 1985 the order was for 302 million and they actually produced—156 million... Even the smallest order from the Ministry of Health in 1987 of 300 million—which was obviously drawn up with a great desire to appear realistic—was satisfied by only two-thirds. So what do the orders from the medical community have to do with anything?

What does all this correspondence, if I may call it that, show? The sluggishness of the fly wheel of departmental economics and its lack of responsiveness to the most crucial need. And not that the command-administrative system has forfeited its positions. But this being the case, why is there no command for stepping up the work for preventing the spread of this fatal virus? What are we waiting for?

According to the calculations of mathematicians, with the existing rates of spreading of the disease, by the year 1995 there will be approximately 600,000 carrying the virus in the country and 6,000 ill or dead from AIDS; by the year 2000 the number of carriers of the virus will increase to 15 million, and patients and fatalities—to 200,000; and by the year 2005... "They tell us that it is very difficult to develop the fight against AIDS, to arrange for the production of disposable syringes, and so forth, and that millions of rubles are needed," G. Klimenko from Kiev Oblast writes to the editor. "But if we do not find the necessary millions now, in the near future we shall be paying billions of rubles as well as human lives."

A similar viewpoint is expressed by many of our readers who responded to the article "The Unvarnished Truth About AIDS."

"We were shaken by the continuing inactivity and the glaring inefficiency of the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry," write the Smorodins from Kiev. "Appeals to the conscience of production workers, unfortunately, have long failed to produce results and not only in this sphere of activity. We consider it expedient to immediately create a fund for fighting AIDS with the money being used to purchase disposable syringes and also other equipment necessary for laboratory services." The same suggestion is made by a physician from Yerevan, S. Karapetyan, and others who wrote letters.

Fully sharing the feelings of our readers, I shall express only one consideration. The idea of creating a fund to fight AIDS is noble and magnanimous. But are we not placing too much hope in a fund which, like many other public funds, is not capable of solving a large-scale social problem? And it would seem that this is not their task. The public fund is the clearest demonstration of the community's attitude toward the problem. Like an alarm to the conscience: we can wait no longer, we must act immediately. And these actions should come from the state agencies. Which makes the lack of these actions even more striking.

Questions of legal support for the program for preventing the spread of the virus were discussed in fairly great detail in the preceding article. In particular it discussed the need to improve legislation regarding the so-called high-risk group. In their letters our readers express various, sometimes diametrically opposed, viewpoints regarding prostitution, homosexuality, and drug addiction, and they make concrete suggestions. But those who develop the laws, particularly the USSR Ministry of Justice, do not make their own expert suggestions, and all things considered, they do not intend to do this, just as they apparently do not intend to respond to critical remarks in the newspaper. And, after all, new problems have already appeared. I have in mind the legal protection of people infected with the virus. We must not allow certain people's ignorance and callousness to make them outcasts from the society. What do legal experts think about this?

The existing system of testing people who come from abroad also needs to be improved, and we have already written about this. It is no secret that many epidemiological examinations conducted here have revealed foreign addresses. The incident in Elist is no exception. The "importer" of the infection there was one of our sailors who had worked in the Congo several years ago, had infected his wife, and, through her, his child, from whom the virus was transferred to other children through a syringe. The society needs a reliable epidemiological "filter" and must have its own kind of immunity to diseases that are migrating over the planet.

After all, what is immunity? It is the natural reaction of a healthy organism: in response to the penetration of a virus it immediately produces antibodies which destroy the enemy. The healthy organism reacts in that way and only that way.

Government Moves Saturday Holidays to Monday

PM0203150989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] With a view to creating favorable conditions for working people's leisure and the rational utilization of work time the USSR Council of Ministers has resolved to move rest days in 1989 from Saturday 6 May to Monday 8 May and from Saturday 4 November to Monday 6 November.

Economic

*State Sector Continues To Hurt Economic Reform

WA18200215 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by I. Lavrovskiy: "Carthage Must Be Destroyed"]

[Text]*The State Committee for Statistics announces healthy rates of economic growth, but the waves of deficit are raging, and the real standard of living of the population is stagnating as before. Only the growing state budget deficit is not subject to stagnation.*

What is the reason for the inadequate effectiveness of recent economic measures? For at first glance they seem quite radical. The reason is clear to many—the preservation of the monolith of economic ministries, cemented together by bureaucratism. This is economic legacy of Stalinism.

Under Stalin the people's commissariat-ministries were the drive shafts of the "highest will." After Stalin they were transformed into powerful economic centers with a high degree of self-support. These departments themselves plan for the state. They trade among themselves through the Gosplan and the Gossnab. They protect themselves from competition with strict plans in "physical units," foreign trade restrictions, and so forth. There is only one thing they do not do themselves: **They are not economically responsible for the results of their activity**. The consumers with their rubles are not quoted in the highest economic spheres. The ministries have no need for their rubles—if they do not have enough, they print some more.

When the Americans said: "What is good for General Motors is good for America," they could not have imagined that the president of General Motors could have simultaneously replaced the U.S. president in the administration. But this is a common thing in our country. The presidents of our "General Motors" sit in the government and tell us what is good for the country. As a result, the political and economic priorities are shuffled so that it is impossible to tell one from the other. Obviously, if the state really wants to control the economy and not be controlled by it, first it must organizationally separate itself from the economy. Otherwise it turns out that the state controls itself and pulls itself up by its own bootstraps.

Attempts to dissolve the bureaucratic monolith in the sea of cooperation and rental demand respect. But today all the cooperatives together produce about 0.5 percent of the national income. Even if by propagating at the speed of bacteria they were to double annually their share, it would take them no less than 5 years to reach the "respectable" and appreciable level of 20 percent of the national income.

In fact the growth rates cannot be that high. About 0.1 percent of the industrial enterprises have changed over to the rental contract. The proportion of deliveries through direct ties has not yet reached 1 percent of the foreign trade turnover. It is clear that if we wait for changes from the realization of new forms of economic activity alone we will have to wait a long time. Free economic initiative is still powerless in the face of the powerful alliance of the state and economic monopolies.

Consequently, all our hopes lie in the state sector. But not the one that exists today, and certainly not the one that existed yesterday. We need a **truly radical reform of the state sector of the economy.** The law on the enterprise is not enough. Under our conditions only the ministries and certain powerful enterprises have real economic independence. And attempts to raise the level of independence and effectiveness of individual enterprises amount to approximately the same thing as increasing the independence of individual shops with respect to the plant administration. It is the same thing as increasing the effectiveness of these shops without paying attention to the effectiveness of the plant as a whole. Any director will tell you that to sever the shop from the plant will do harm to the plant. Therefore it is not surprising that the ministries more or less ignore the law on the enterprise. And they ignore it sluggishly, because they still have enough possibilities under the new conditions to continue to operate in the old way.

Soviet authorities have been using such a traditional method as reducing and abolishing ministries and departments since their first years. There have been no results and there will be none. Did the creation of the Gosagroprom, that prototype of the super-ministry with a reduction of staff, lead to any real changes? There were no sausages and there are still none. There have been and still are losses of agricultural products. After all, it is not a matter of the "gluttony" of the apparatus. By world standards, our bureaucrat is treated poorly. And it is not the wages of the officials that cause the colossal losses in the economy. We spend on the production of a unit of output 2-3 times more labor, materials, and energy than developed countries of the West do. This is where we must look for reserves, and not in cutbacks for the management apparatus.

The current centralized system of economic management has a very powerful anti-incentive—it is boundlessly **boring.** The possibilities of a business career are limited and they become even more limited as a result of cutbacks and mergers. The consumer "ceiling" also makes it impossible to develop. Everything is decided by coordination and not by competition. And, after all, even with all the material benefits, man's most important incentive is his work. The bureaucratic system, which has brought man to the point of alienation from labor, from work, produces "superfluous men" everywhere, both "below" and "above." "Superfluous people" are put on a pension when the staff is reduced. A return to an economy of **competition not for the position but for the person** is not a whim. It is a necessity.

How does one return competition to the economy? In order to compete it is necessary to have various rights. The rights of the ministries and enterprises—can these be compared? The result of the competition between them has been predetermined. In order for the ministries to turn and face the people, in order for real competition to begin—with a surplus of goods and a reduction of prices—it is necessary for the branch ministries to become "simply" enterprises, albeit very large ones. Enterprises to which the laws apply and which need the same currency as everyone else does. Not plans, funds, and limits—but rubles. Let the question of whether some "ministry" is needed or not be decided not by the various levels of government, but by the consumers.

Although it may seem paradoxical, the proposed path corresponds not only to the interests of the consumer but also to the interests of the economic apparatus itself. Excommunication from the state budget is a condition for transforming the ministries into a state association, or, which is the same thing, into a state corporation. Everything that has been earned has been received, minus taxes, of course. If a state corporation can feed 30,000 couriers on the money it earns—let it feed them. This is its internal affair. Nobody can remove anyone, eliminate anyone's position, or demote anyone except that person's own collective. Nobody has the right to restrict wages. Dividing ministries that are too large into several associations will not only undermine their monopolies but will also create many vacancies for managers. Instead of reductions, there will be vacancies and new possibilities of careers for energetic people. If taking into account the interests of those who manage the economy is a compromise with bureaucracy, I am in favor of this compromise. Too often we try to solve problems by aggravating the contradictions instead of resolving them.

As before, arguments of social idealism are to be heard everywhere, the main one having to do with coercion and duty. One hears everywhere: State agencies for branch management **must** become..., departmental jurisdiction **must** disappear..., the enterprise **must** be subordinate and responsible... and so forth. But why do any of them owe anything to anybody? I do not understand. To whom is the **obligation** of the ministry worker who was taken from production a quarter century ago and today **must** be laid off? To whom is the **obligation** of the enterprises which are trying to manage when the old system of relations in the economy is falling apart and they have "forgotten" to bring the new one to mind? To whom **must** we, the consumers, say thank-you for the empty counters in the stores? Shall we be writing again about the "deformations" of our formation?

The ideology of the current reform includes the dogmas inherent not only in the everyday, but also the scientific consciousness. In our society, as before, there is a strong attraction to idealism without connection to reality. And as before we do not want to improve but to destroy. What will happen if we actually do destroy the current economic structure and "drive out" the ministries? The answer is clear—economic ruin, and a strong public desire for a man with big fists to come again and "impose order."

The reform is bogging down because many people with influence in the economic world do not see an advantage in it. Therefore the social base of the restructuring is

becoming narrower. Competition, cooperation, and economic independence will be able to develop successfully when and only when the ministries themselves are operating under conditions of competition, cooperation, and economic independence.

What is the point in calling for individual enterprises to saturate the market when we have neither a normal market nor enterprises with these capabilities. Why try to tear their natural functions out of the hands of the branch ministries and assign them unnatural "purely state" functions? Jumping over the necessary stages ends up in jumping over the interests of the people and hence, the interests of the cause. A correct economic policy should take maximum advantage of available resources and realize human interests to a maximum degree. As soon as the state economic policy becomes **advantageous**—miracles will take place.

The branch ministries have everything necessary to become powerful independent enterprises—the basis of the economy. We must eliminate what is superfluous—cut the old umbilical cord that organizationally ties them to the state apparatus. It is time to understand, finally, that the state cannot feed anybody, it can build nothing **itself**. It can only eliminate those obstacles to economic development which it itself has created. The state is not capable of imposing order in the economy. But to separate the ministries from the state budget and make them the motive force of the restructuring—this it can do. Such a reform will create a new economic situation in the country. It will become disadvantageous to conceal reserves, to raise prices, and to produce wastes, that is, to pay for departmental interests with public money. The interests of the consumer will become the only alternative.

It would be naive to hope that the idea of "removing state privilege" from the branch ministries will immediately be accepted and realized. Just as Cato's demand to destroy ancient Carthage seemed naive at the time. But the times are changing, and I believe that the Carthage of bureaucratism will be destroyed.

Cities To Exchange Consumer Information

PM2802094389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[A. Davidyants report: "Information Bank Set Up"]

[Text] The USSR Union of State and Cooperative Information and Reference Services—that is the name of a new public organization that has been created in our country.

I. Yuzvishin, director of Moscow City Information and Reference Office, said the following:

"The union's main task is to create a single all-union information and reference system in the country. Unfortunately, like the inhabitants of all the country's republics, Muscovites have hitherto not had an opportunity to obtain the requisite reference material about any city of interest to them."

"Cities will give one another a mass of various reference details, including information about job vacancies, and will provide enterprises' and citizens' addresses, information on the availability of spare parts, equipment, and current non-disposable items, and all manner of other information."

Bank Official Writes on Deposits, Millionaires

LD2002094389 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—People's deposits at savings-banks of the USSR have now reached 300,000 million roubles, first deputy chairman of the board of the People's Savings and Crediting Bank of the USSR Vladimir Belokon wrote in the newspaper PRAVDA on Monday. The total deposits amounted to 268,000 million roubles by the end of 1987, then 30,000 million were added to the sum in 1988 and, besides, 1,800 million roubles came in last January.

Are there many depositors in the USSR? Are there millionaires among them? Vladimir Belakon was asked.

"I cannot say whether there are millionaires. In any case there are no accounts of above 100,000 roubles. But the same person can have several accounts in different banks and cities. For the same reason I cannot mention the precise number of depositors. The number of deposits, if you please, is 200 millions", he said.

Shoddy Work Blamed for Pipeline Blowout

PM2802153389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 89 Second Edition p3

[Report by V. Orlov, PRAVDA correspondent, and A. Sharapov, head of the PRAVDA public reception center: "Incident on a Moonlit Night"]

[Text] Tyumen Oblast—It happened on the night of 14-15 February. The instruments at the control station of the Main West and Northwest Siberian Oil Pipelines Administration registered a sharp drop in pressure in the West Siberia-Urals-Volga supply line. This could mean only one thing: There was a fracture somewhere on the pipeline.

The incident threatened to become a major disaster. After all, a broad fraction of light hydrocarbons was being pumped through the 700mm-diameter pipeline under a pressure of 50 atmospheres. Propane, ethane, hexane, and other gases were in liquid form inside the steel pipeline. But, escaping to freedom, they had turned into a toxic, explosive cloud....

Aware of this, the controllers worked efficiently. Within 10 minutes all the compressor stations had been shut down and the valves of other pipelines shut off.

They then had to locate the trouble. But where was it? After all, the pipeline stretched for hundreds of kilometers. Emergency service workers at the main oil pipeline administration gave an approximate prediction of where they thought the problem might be. A special group of observers took off in an MI-8 emergency rescue helicopter from a local aviation enterprise.

Within an hour, the flight observers spotted an enormous whitish cloud 194 km from Tobolsk. The aviators began to carefully circle the surrounding area to see whether there were any people, equipment, roads, or population centers in the vicinity.

Their fears were not in vain. There was a railroad just 1.5 km from the milky, mushroom-shaped cloud ready to explode at any second. They could also see lights from the Kartymskaya Railroad Station and two small villages not far away. The slightest breeze could "roll" this lethal "surprise" in their direction at any moment.

The helicopter crew and team of observers took the only right decision under the circumstances. Approaching from upwind, they ignited the insidious whitish cloud by firing a flare gun from the helicopter....

There was a powerful explosion. Down below, a conflagration 600m in diameter and more than 100m high began to blaze. It became as bright as daylight for many kilometers around. This burned off the oil products that had spilled on the ground and evaporated. But now, burning like this, they were no longer as insidious and dangerous.

Meanwhile, a special emergency mechanized column was moving in the direction of the scene of the incident from Tyumen. It included bulldozers, four-wheel drive vehicles, excavators, tow trucks, and fire engines—and more than 30 people specially trained for working in such emergencies.

The rescue team was on the spot by morning. By that time, the conflagration had died down considerably. It had died out completely within 24 hours. The damaged section of the pipeline was replaced, and the valuable hydrocarbon raw material was once again pumping its way to chemical plants in the Urals and the Volga region.

The story of how this very major, dangerous accident was efficiently dealt with could end on this upward note. The staff of the main oil pipelines administration and their trusty assistants, the pilots, proved that they were on top of the situation. All this is true. They should be given a big thank-you for their great professionalism, initiative, and courage. However, before bringing this episode to a close, we have to remind you of one "but." On 22 November last year, in a report entitled "Pressure on the Public Prosecutor," we raised the question of the inferior quality of construction of the West Siberia-Urals-Volga supply line and discussed the need to punish those responsible for the shoddy workmanship and to eliminate the shortcomings. The Tyumen Oblast Prosecutor's Office had spent a year investigating the poor-quality construction of this important pipeline prior to this. Evidence of the most flagrant violations by the "Tyumengazpromstroy" Trust when laying the pipeline had been collected in 22 volumes, but there was no let-up in the departmental pressure even after the PRAVDA publication. And so the case of shoddy workmanship was recently shelved.

However, this new accident with the supply line shows that this was done in vain. Once again, the national economy has suffered considerable damage. Surely someone must be held responsible this time...?

Voronezh Atomic Plant Waste Plans Denied

PM0103162589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with A. Voropayev, chairman of the Voronezh Oblispolkom, by "our correspondent" V. Stepnov under the rubric "Following Traces of Rumor": "Chernozem Lands Will Remain Clean"; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Any information about nuclear power engineering in Voronezh is received with avid attention. This is understandable: One atomic power station is operating 40 km from the city and another is being installed 5 km from the city. The Voronezh people have recently been actively discussing the possible construction of a regional storage facility for atomic power station waste on the territory of the oblast. There has not been a word in the press about this project but in the city it is accepted as a fact. What is happening? Are there grounds for the talk? And if there are, why does the public not have reliable information?

Our correspondent V. Stepnov put these questions to A. Voropayev, chairman of the Voronezh Oblispolkom.

[Stepnov] First of all, Aleksey Makarovich, let's specify our terminology. Many people associate the waste from atomic power stations with used nuclear fuel, which is far from the same thing.

[Voropayev] Indeed, used nuclear fuel is kept at the station for only a little while and is then sent to the sector's appropriate enterprise for processing. We, however, have in mind radioactive waste formed in the process of the station's operation. This can mean the products of water treatment, rags, oils, special clothing, or components left over after the repair or preventive treatment of equipment. The Novovoronezhskaya AES stores only its own waste.

[Stepnov] Where does this talk come from? Reliable, respectable people nominated as candidate deputies are promising their voters to include in their programs the struggle against the creation of a storage facility. Perhaps its creation is being planned?

[Voropayev] I can state categorically and unequivocally that it is not. But your question requires a more thorough reply. I shall begin with a short digression into history. Back in May 1986 the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification asked us to allow engineering and geological work in the region of the Novovoronezhskaya AES to find areas suitable for burying atomic power station waste. We refused this request and asked that this burial not be planned here. Nonetheless in December of last year the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation asked the oblispolkom to give permission for the construction of an experimental industrial regional enterprise for the burial of radioactive waste. Having examined the materials submitted we did not accept the ministry's proposals. It was decided to decline the request.

[Stepnov] But what motivated the refusal?

[Voropayev] Right now there are 42 chemically dangerous establishments on the territory of Voronezh Oblast. They include the Rossosh chemical plant and a synthetic rubber plant. A 320 km section of the Tolyatti-Odessa ammonia pipeline passes through our oblast. There are plans to construct an area for burying toxic waste from the oblast's industrial enterprises. How many dangerous establishments can be implanted into the chernozem? From here the country receives a large proportion of sugar, grain, meat, and milk. We do not have the right to subject the agricultural produce obtained here to the risk of pollution. The main thing is that the Voronezh chernozem lands are priceless. However science and technology may progress, man will always be fed from the land and we should not squander it. Our successors will not forgive our wastefulness, however important the establishments erected. Ultimately there is nothing more important than bread.

[Stepnov] In conclusion, Aleksey Makarovich, do you not believe it is necessary to expand the population's provision with information? It is immoral to keep secret from people what affects their health, welfare, and very lives.

[Voropayev] I agree. We must restructure ourselves. Glasnost and democracy are not empty words but mean real respect for public opinion.

*An-74 Light Transport Begins Series Production

WA18290099 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by V. Belikov and A. Kleva: "The An-74: Series Production Has Begun"]

[Text] We have been waiting for a long time for such a machine, which combines jet speeds with the simplicity of the An-2, and the cargo capacity of the An-26 turboprop with the flying-time capacity of the veteran Il-14. The winter workers, the captains of the ice breakers, and the explorers of the sixth continent have spoken as one of the need for an aircraft capable of operating in the polar regions.

After being created in the Special Design Bureau by Imeni O. Antonov, the experimental model was initially used a couple of times in the Arctic to deliver cargo to the drift ice research units and to aid the Soviet-Canadian ski crossing of the North Pole. At the end of last fall the new An was in Antarctica, where it spent its first 3 months. We have acquainted IZVESTIYA readers with its flights over the southern continent (Nos 300 and 366 for 1988). A. Romanyuk, the leader of the group of aircraft specialists of the special design bureau, tells how the aircraft performed during that time:

"The An-74 can operate successfully under the severe natural conditions of Antarctica. This was confirmed by our numerous flights over the continent, including toward the North Pole. At the Vostok station, which is located near it, four trips were completed with landings on the thin crust of ice over the snow.

It is important that the An can deliver 5-6 times more cargo in terms of weight from the coast to the heart of the continent in one trip than the Il-14, with its ski landing gear, could. This will make it possible to considerably expand the possibilities of applying the winged vehicle.

The director of the Kharkov aircraft plant, A. Myalitsa, said:

"We have assimilated series output of the new aircraft in the shortest possible amount of time. Our business cooperation with its creators, the designers, helped a great deal. We received technical documentation from them and immediately arranged production, and we conducted parallel testing of the sets of equipment and parts, of which there are about 100,000 on the aircraft!"

We managed to reduce unproductive time expenditures to a minimum. We took a certain amount of engineering risk, but if we had worked according to the old way we would have spent no less than 5 years in the assimilation of series production.

The An-74 has modern navigation equipment. In addition to the work stations of the navigator and the hydrologist, there are several seats for service passengers and even two sleeping couches. Behind the partition is a spacious cargo compartment. The aircraft was conceived in such a way that it can be used as a basis for a whole family of winged vehicles, which the national economy needs very much.

Plant test pilot S. Chaychenko said:

"We agreed to pilot 25 types of aircraft—from jet fighters to Tu transport planes. There is a basis for comparison. The new An has a wide range of speeds—from 200 to 600 kilometers per hour—and excellent take-off and landing characteristics which make it possible to use small airports. The vehicle performs well in the air and easily completes turns with banks of up to 45 degrees, which is valuable for Arctic prospecting flights and for delivering parachuted cargo to winter workers.

The crew compartment is comfortable, it has good heating, and in the small main cabin there is a stand for containers of in-flight food. The conveniences are especially valuable for many-hour flights at high latitudes.

The first series-produced An-74 will go into operation in Yakutiya.

Agricultural

Ligachev Cites Leasing Benefits at Omsk Oblast

LD0103132289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, who is in Omsk Oblast, today visited the (Selevanovskiy) sovkhoz in Moskalenskiy rayon.

[Correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn—identified by caption] One thing is clear, the familiar monotony of the village tenor of work should give way to the variety of forms of labor organization and administration. Let's get it straight: The (Selevanovskiy) sovkhoz yields a poor return; in the country nearly every second farm is like that. Forty-two percent of kolkhozes and sovkhozes yield a low return or are unprofitable. What should be done about them? This is the question at the moment. [video shows Ligachev shaking hands with various men outside a snowbound farm building; interior of shed showing farmer mucking out cow-shed]

[Begin Ligachev recording—At a meeting with farmers] In other words, a number of questions on a combination of—what?—the interests of the kollektiv and the state. The sort of thing we've been racking our brains over in the course of many decades. Individual, kollektiv, and state interests. That's how things should be conducted, taking each and all of them into consideration. [end recording]

[Sinitsyn] Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev chats with sovkhoz employees and specialists. It's the simplest thing to say. You are working badly, but this wouldn't be fair. The sovkhoz has moved on in recent years. But work in the country is tough when there are no roads, housing, and what we call the cultural-social sphere. When the cost of stock-breeding produce is high and the sovkhoz is rearing sheep and moreover is in an area of risky farming. What should be done? By the way, there are well-developed private subsidiary plots here—as many cows as there are plots, as they say, and even more pigs! If that's the case, perhaps the whole of the land should be given over to private use. [video shows Ligachev being shown around cowshed; other farm scenes]

[N.S. Zykov, sovkhoz employee, chatting to Sinitsyn at farm] We will not leave the sovkhoz, because we still have specialized units.

[Sinitsyn] Well, the path to distributing all the land to private use doesn't apply here. Where's the answer, then? It's clear that we must build roads, housing, clubs, and hospitals, but will just that help?

[Begin Ligachev recording at meeting] Well, just think about leasing. I'll tell you this: We've been to some farms—big farms and medium farms where intrafarm leasing is very well developed, where the farm is in the form of a kollektiv—a cooperative of lease-contracting collectives. Our comrades from Tula are very actively engaged in this matter—there are already whole sovkhozes like that there. We went to Rostov, to Matveyevo-Kurganskiy rayon where all the farms have switched over to leasing. This fits into the kolkhoz and sovkhoz: It fits well into the system. This doesn't destroy the kolkhoz or the sovkhoz. On the contrary, it strengthens it, and things are conducted within the framework of these farms. And we would advise you to take a good look at this matter: Because, to be frank, full financial autonomy comes when there is leasing, and that you know perfectly well; because you have full authority because everything is yours but your responsibility is immense. As you manage, so you live; you get what you work for. That's why we are in favor of leasing.

That's the first thing. The second is this, that leasing puts an end to all orders. There can be recommendations, consultations, but if he's the boss, he's the one responsible. The apparatus is reduced sharply, or the apparatus will have to move in to these lease teams.

The command system is ceasing, comrades. Under leasing relations this method is dying away quickly. [end recording]

[Sinitsyn] the meeting continued, but we were in a hurry to send this reportage to Moscow. One thing was clear, there are no ready-made recipes. Each instance requires its own individual approach in order to remove the chains from one's feet and so that one feels tired of standing still.

During his visit to Omsk oblast Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev also visited the Machine-Building Construction Works Production Association, the town market, and a department store, and also met writers and journalists of the oblast.

Shcherbitskiy Visits Dnepropetrovsk Oblast
LD0103122589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Shcherbitskiy arrived in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast today. First meetings took place with the electorate of the Verkhnedneprovskiy constituency.

[Correspondent G. Klimov—identified by caption] Many trees on this street of the village of Nikolskoye on the Dnerpr will soon be dressed in their spring colors. It is a street of newcomers. There are many people who would like to lengthen this street, and the kolkhoz is helping with a loan. But there are difficulties with providing building materials. The problems of the reconstruction of the countryside and the everyday services of rural workers were some of the main subjects which Vladimir Vasiliyevich Shcherbitskiy focused upon with the electorate today. [video shows children playing on street; buildings; Shcherbitskiy chatting outside with local officials]

Here is commercial dairy farm no 1 of the 'Progress' kolkhoz. Comrade Shcherbitskiy replied to questions from members of the team of stockbreeders, and drew attention to shortcomings in the production sphere. The kolkhoz and the Solonyanskiy rayon have over the past year reduced the gross production of milk, and, indeed, in the oblast the growth of productivity of the dairy herd is insignificant—just half a percent. The conversation dealt with reserves in fulfilling the food program. The stockbreeders are switching to leasing. In farming this was done earlier. The farmers' kollektiv, which is headed by (Stanislav Yakovlevich Bazyuk), is preparing for the spring sowing campaign. May this year be as successful as last. The average output in (Bazyuk's) lease team is five times higher than the average for the kolkhoz. [video shows name-plate of the farm; Shcherbitskiy standing, speaking to officials and staff in room; female staff line up to welcome Shcherbitskiy and other officials; Shcherbitskiy talking to worker]

This is the best advertisement for lease-contracting, Comrade Shcherbitskiy noted. The leasing methods will be deepened in the kolkhoz with the creation of cooperative kollektivs. Nearly one-fifth of such cooperatives are planned to be organized in the kolkhoz—in the output of agricultural produce, construction, and everyday services. The management apparatus will be cut down and the kollektivs will have more independence.

Comrade Shcherbitskiy also visited the Solonyanskiy poultry sovkhoz today.

***Lithuanians Boycott Low Quality Milk Products**
WA18270061 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by N. Lashkevich: "Boycott"]

[Text] The rumor got around in the beginning: "The 'Greens' called for us not to drink milk." The bewilderment had somewhat dissipated when milk quality became a main topic, and pamphlets appeared in the city with the intriguing title: " 'Greens' Against Agroprom," appealing for a boycott of milk products because of their low quality. At first, the public protests poured forth in this form: The organization for the defense of the environment, created in the republic several months ago, announced a "milk hunger strike."

There were pickets at stores, rallies at the buildings of the Gosagroprom, posters. Milk was purchased in stores reluctantly. The arguments of the representatives of the ecological movement sounded very impressive; unconvincing were those of the agricultural industry workers, who fell into a tone of admonishment: Milk quality is improving day by day, there is no need to panic. Television reports, white-hot newspaper pieces, indignant letters from milkmaids, no-less-indignant letters from consumers who had participated in checking the dairy enterprises, which, alas, only confirmed the "Greens'" statements, the organizational conclusions of the republic's Council of Ministers were in this respect accused of supplying the agricultural workers' defective products; in a word, the passions inflamed were no joke.

The fact that some land doesn't flow with milk and honey is fairly well-studied. We recall several of our newspapers publications on this subject. The land which produces the feed is saturated with chemicals incapable of acting as a biological filter for the cows; there are unsanitary and disorderly conditions on the farms, animal disease; all of this has been woven into a whimsical band of causes and effects.

"We feel that at this time, a crisis situation has formed," says A. Vayshnoras, "Greens" representative and Institute of Physics worker. "The most radical measures are needed to improve milk quality. Otherwise, our failure to act could lead to sorry and even tragic consequences."

"The situation is not worth dramatizing," objects K. Gedrimas, deputy chief of the main veterinary inspection of the republic's Gosagroprom. "Milk quality is improving."

These viewpoints are polar opposites. Disputes rage not about the quality of milk—everyone admits that to put it mildly, it leaves a lot to be desired—but about the degree of its contamination and influence on human health. This is precisely the starting point for the discord, and the starting point for the search for a means to resolve the problem. Carefully verified data must show the true state of affairs in dairy production. This must be known,

after all, in order to undertake anything. And what do we actually get? One specialist persuaded me that the bovine leucosis virus perishes at 70 degrees; another raised it to 86 degrees. One scientist was of the opinion that our milk quality standards are 17 times lower than Norway's; another, that they coincide with all world standards. Some said that cheese doesn't turn out right because of bad culture, or, to the contrary, bad milk is at fault. Wall-to-wall confusion, hopelessly tangled numbers, the "Greens'" gloomy pessimism, and the agricultural workers' bold optimism—where is the truth?

If the agroprom's data is to be believed, then exactly 1 year ago, 93 percent of the milk of the republic's complexes was grade A. It does not take a genius to figure out that this index has been fudged. The results of the milk's analysis confirm this conclusion. Thus, tests run in several rayons at the end of 1987 showed that from 37 to 70 percent of the milk entering factories was grade A. And then, one November day of last year, state inspection of the product quality of the republic's agroprom, which decided to control raw material at the Kaunas milk combine, disclosed that only 16 percent of the milk there was grade A! On the other hand, 40 percent turned out to have been diluted with water, contaminated with pesticides, nitrates, and other chemical substances.

What sort of magical transformation was this? Not a single commission can find this mythical 93 percent grade A milk, but they stubbornly float on the surface of the undisturbed waters of official accounting! For example, at the Panevezhskiy milk combine, 94 percent grade A milk was scrupulously recorded in state accounts. But the people's controllers only had to look in the ledger to detect that during the 10-day test periods, grade A milk made up only 70-76 percent. And at the Vilnius milk combine they could find only 43 percent grade A production. And there is no counting the the number of examples such as this.

Is this numerical search for equilibrium so very harmless? If only it were! It takes money out of the state pocket; the state budget pays the same for diluted and "dirty" milk as for grade A. According to several of the republic's specialists, the dairy industry paid almost R1 billion of the state budget in 1 year for non-existent grade A milk.

The main thing is that such statistical games constrict the search for new forms and methods of producing good milk and dairy products. There is no material, or, incidentally, moral concern for improving quality.

"Opponents are pulling these figures out of a hat," K. Gedrimas announces with confidence. "Their tests' data are being disproved by ours; milk quality is growing."

We have already figured out the inflated authority of grade A milk. Other assertions of agricultural industry specialists inspire doubt. A serological analysis of the republic's entire dairy herd was scheduled to be carried out by 1 January of this year. But such a multilateral systems check, a unique veterinary herd inventory, was not performed. In this case, how can it be asserted, for example, that only 1-2 percent of the cows in Lithuania are afflicted with mastitis?

In the republic hospital in Shyaulya, the infants' ward had to be closed due to poor milk quality. Recently, the city public health-epidemiological station prohibited the sale of milk as hazardous to health. The milk combine in Vilnius was closed down for several days due to the low quality of the milk products. Yet must we really wait for outbreaks of illness in order to finally get moving? When will we stop counting on "perhaps"? Well, good; before, it was just doctors of public health; now, the republic's chief doctor of public health, S. Tarbunas, admits that "we have not had the opportunity to make widely public the extensive factual material we are holding." Why manipulate the facts now?

What does Gosagroprom think about this situation? It is at best naive to resolve the milk quality problem by the means proposed at a session in this department: "Support the rayons' initiative to declare December 'Milk Quality Improvement Month.'" The points of a plan of measures for improving milk quality sound much more serious. More than a few of the points of this sensible document, in my opinion, have been fulfilled or are now being fulfilled; some, however, have remained just fancy words. The main point has remained practically untouched: The preparation of a long-range systemic program of scientific research work on improving milk quality. Up to this time, research has been of an episodic nature, generating regular debates and discord, a new spiral of disputes. Two years ago, agroprom adopted a stern order "on measures for improving milk quality," which delineated a whole range of measures. Has milk gotten better since then? Does the product get to the store before the third day? Has a closed production cycle been created—farm, combine, store. Is the latest equipment used in determining milk's various parameters? Has a system of quality testing been developed? Just start asking these questions and it becomes clear that nothing has been done.

Control can be made more strict. But, as a rule, this yields a one-time effect. The "Greens'" action raised milk quality in its first days. In the Kaunas rayon, literally on the day after the announcement of the boycott, agents were found in only 4 percent of the milk, while that figure had been 62 percent in September. And no water was detected at all! However, toward the end of the action, the contamination index climbed up again.

"Prohibititve tendencies, stricter control will not solve the problems," thinks A. Vayshnoras. "The agricultural laborer, the processing enterprise worker, the salesperson have to be economically concerned that the milk be pure."

Well, the boycott announced in Lithuania is an extreme measure, a hopeless path, to be blunt. But where is that other road, by which the all-powerful department turns its face toward man, and away from ill-gotten figures of plan indices?

Someone once said: If you have nothing to say, at least tell the truth. At least then there won't be rumors and idle talk....

Scientific

'Cosmos-2005' Satellite Launched 2 Mar

LD0303075989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0748 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Mar (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-2005" was launched in the Soviet Union on Thursday [2 March] by a "Soyuz" booster-rocket.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 89.7 mins; apogee, 347 km; perigee, 197 km; orbital inclination, 62.8 km; orbital inclination, 62.8 deg.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

'Progress-40' Supply Craft Undocked From 'Mir'

LD0303112689 Moscow TASS in English 1055 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the Ground Control Centre:

The supply craft Progress-40 was jettisoned from the Soviet orbiting station MIR at 4:46 Moscow time on Friday [3 March] after the programme of their joint flight had been fully completed. It involved freight unloading, refueling and the correction of the station's orbit using the spacecraft's motors.

In an experiment after Progress-40 was undocked from MIR, two large-size multi-link folded structures on the supply craft's outer wall were automatically deployed in outer space one after another.

The technique was based on the use of form-remembering materials in these structures.

As the structures unfolded, the process was filmed and photographed by the station's crew of Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov, using a VCR camera as well as cine and photographic equipment.

As Progress-40 continues autonomous flight, tests on the newly-deployed structures will go on to evaluate their dynamic characteristics.

Military

*General Kochetov Gives Views on Restructuring

WA18010505a Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, by TRUD: "Guaranteeing the Peace"; date and place not given]

[Text] [TRUD] How has the restructuring taking place in the country affected the Soviet Armed Forces? What has already been done?

[Kochetov] The country has entered a new and very important stage of restructuring, the stage of practical matters. Together with the Soviet people, troops in the Army and Navy are actively involved in this work because the Army is an integral part of our people.

True, restructuring in the Army and Navy is somewhat different in nature. Thus, whereas in the labor collectives they are increasingly more decisive in rejecting command-and-instruction methods, in the military collectives restructuring is moving along the line of strengthening one-man command, changing the style and methods of work by leading personnel, strengthening organization and discipline, and raising the level of diligence at all levels.

As in the labor collectives, in the Army and Navy the processes of democratization and glasnost have been developed and deepened, affecting virtually every serviceman from private to general, and all spheres of life and activity in our military organization.

Major changes are taking place right there in the units and ships. In their work, commanders, political officers, and party and Komsomol organizations attach great importance to actual work with people. The focus of their attention is the soldier and the officer, with all their achievements and concerns, and the creation of the conditions necessary for service and rest and for insuring social justice.

When visiting the units I many times observed, to use a figure of speech, the first shoots and now the strong growth of democratization and glasnost. People's activeness has grown and the requirements of the business-in-hand and attitudes of goodwill toward it have become more strict. The activity of the military councils, headquarters, and political organs is becoming more open,

and better information is being provided for the troops. New, general regulations are being drawn up, along with provisions on the officers' assembly that have now been created in the Army and Navy, and work is proceeding on comrades' court to resolve matters involving the honor of the officer and other issues. Certification of the officer corps now set up in the Armed Forces is also playing a decisive role....

[TRUD] In connection with the final document adopted at the Vienna meeting, which has been widely approved throughout the world, we would like to hear your opinion on Soviet military doctrine and the switch from the principle of a high level of weapons to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense....

[Kochetov] Throughout its history the Soviet state has invariably built its international relations on respect for the principle of the nonuse of force or the threat of force. Its Army and Navy have been trained primarily to repulse an aggressor. The military might of the Soviet Union has always been commensurate with the level of the military threat from outside and the nature and intensity of preparations for war on the part of the reactionary forces of imperialism.

Let me give just a few examples. In the early twenties, when the West was healing from the wounds of World War I and the threat the West posed for the Soviet Union had decreased, the Armed Forces were cut from 5.5 million men (in late 1920) to 516,000 men (by 1 October 1923). On the eve of the Great Patriotic War, under conditions of the growing danger of war, the Soviet Army was considerably strengthened. After the end of the war the numerical strength of the Armed Forces was cut sharply and its structure altered in line with peacetime conditions.

However, after achieving military strategic parity with the United States in the seventies and concentrating mainly on the military aspect of the confrontation with imperialism (to the detriment of political means), we were thus drawn into an unconstrained arms race. As a result of this course in the development of events in the world, by the mid-eighties the planet was overloaded with nuclear and other kinds of weapons.

In this by no means simple situation the 27th CPSU Congress put forward the concept of the new political thinking. In the sphere of military development this was embodied specifically in the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine.

The decision reached recently by the Soviet government concerning unilateral cutbacks in the Armed Forces and weapons represents a significant step along this path. Over the next 2 years the numerical strength of the USSR Armed Forces will be reduced by 500,000 men, or 12 percent. The military budget will be reduced 14.2 percent, and production of military equipment 19.5 percent.

These actions and other similar actions by the Warsaw Pact member states have become real proof of the readiness of the socialist countries to try to achieve a reduction in the level of confrontation in Europe and insure peace and stability on the continent. Unfortunately, our general initiative has not evoked any similar practical decision on the part of NATO. It is particularly important to emphasize this now, on the eve of the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe that are starting in March.

[TRUD] The Soviet Union has already filled its military doctrine with specific content. The peace initiatives that M.S. Gorbachev put forward on 7 December 1988 in the United Nations indicate this. Will our defense capability suffer from the cutbacks in troops and equipment? Tell us, please, about this in more detail. In this connection the burning question: How will those retired to the reserve and their families be handled and how will they be guaranteed work and housing?

[Kochetov] Your question is quite natural because the troop cutbacks that are now under way are indeed very large. For comparison, let me quote the following figures: Reducing the numerical strength of the Soviet Army by 500,000 is comparable to the numerical strength of the entire Army of the FRG—495,000 men. Ten thousand tanks are equivalent to the weapons available to about 30 U.S. tank divisions.

The reductions measures by the USSR and the fraternal countries are aimed at bringing the structure and equipment of their own Armed Forces strictly into line with the defensive nature of their military doctrines. The decision on reduction was reached after careful calculations and consideration. The security of the socialist community will be guaranteed. The remaining forces are adequate to repulse aggression.

Now, the fate of the officers retired to the reserves. The reason for emphasizing primarily the officer corps is obviously understood by everyone. The personnel cutbacks in compulsory service will be done painlessly by reducing the number of draftees for the Armed Forces. With the officer corps the question is far more complicated because almost one in five of those retired will be an officer. The cutbacks will also affect warrant officers. These are mainly people who have served their set time and are being retired on pension.

The task is to insure that not a single officer will as the result of the cutbacks fail to get his fair share of attention in matters of job placement and the provision of housing. Major organizational measures and efforts will be required not only by the Ministry of Defense. The soviets of people's deputies and the trade unions can and must also provide major assistance in solving this problem. As you know, the Main Directorate for Personnel together with other directorates of the USSR Ministry of

Defense and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems is drawing up measures regarding job placement and social and everyday support for retired servicemen.

Measures to reduce the Army and Navy will provide additional incentive for economic development in our country. The national economy will acquire hundreds of thousands of hands for work. For most of the retired officers are skilled in occupations, and sometimes occupations in which there are shortages that can be used in the national economy. Moreover, some of the equipment will be used for civilian needs, and some enterprises in the defense industry will switch to the production of civilian products. Thus, the reductions in aggregate with the reduced military budget will promote a better economy.

[TRUD] To what degree are the Soviet peace initiatives agreed and supported by our Warsaw Pact allies? How will our military grouping in East Europe appear by 1 January 1991?

[Kochetov] I have already said that the actions of the other member states of the Warsaw Pact in the field of disarmament are moving along the same track as the efforts and actions of the USSR. As of today all the states in the alliance have announced significant cutbacks in military spending and unilateral reductions in the numerical strength of personnel and weapons in their own armies. For example, the GDR is reducing its Army by 10,000 men, 600 tanks, and 50 combat aircraft, while defense spending is being cut by 10 percent.

The principle of sufficiency for defense is also being consistently realized in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. In general the Warsaw Pact countries are making very significant cuts in their armed forces in Europe; the overall total is 296,300 men. Some 12,000 tanks, 930 combat aircraft, and other weapons will be withdrawn while military budgets will be cut by an average of 13.6 percent.

In all the countries of the alliance the process is beginning immediately, unconnected to the upcoming Vienna negotiations and regardless of the course of those negotiations. Over a 2-year period the entire grouping of the Soviet Armed Forces will undergo changes to place the emphasis on defense.

With their unilateral step of goodwill the countries of the Warsaw Pact are making a major contribution to the achievement of peace and tranquillity in the world.